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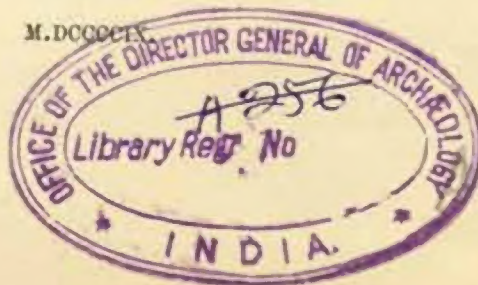
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## ERRATA.

- Page 2, line 14, *for* "N.E.," *read* "N.W."
- Page 106, illustration fig. 30, *for* "Derbyshire," *read* "Wiltshire." Also in list of illustrations, page x. line 8.
- Page 133, line 5, *for* "ordre," *read* "order."
- Page 136, line 20, No. 90 should be under Scotland.
- Page 466, line 32, *for* "Loch," *read* "Lough."
- Page 488, line 7, *for* "Fersford," *read* "Fersfield."
- Page 488, line 23, *for* "Tavistock," *read* "Tawstock."
- Page 489, line 28, *for* "Herefordshire," *read* "Hertfordshire."
- Page 501, line 30, *for* "Beynes," *read* "Reynes."
- Page 507, line 7, *for* "Cresaere," *read* "Cresacre." Also at page 551, column 1, line 17, and column 2, line 6.
- Page 513, line 3, *for* "Stokesley," *read* "Stokesby."
- Page 514, lines 6 and 7, *for* "Rochley," *read* "Rockley."





IX.—*On a Late-Celtic Mirror found at Desborough, Northants, and other Mirrors of the Period.* By REGINALD A. SMITH, Esq., B.A., F.S.A.

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Read 3rd December, 1908.

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IRONSTONE-DIGGING for commercial purposes has resulted in numerous archaeological discoveries over wide areas in Northants and Rutland, as well as in certain parts of adjoining counties, but the conditions of the work render supervision difficult and delay practically impossible. The rescue of antiquities from time to time by the workmen must therefore be considered as a lucky accident, and it is only occasionally that trustworthy information as to the association of objects can be obtained. Still rarer is the preservation of an artistic specimen in a fairly perfect state, and the recent discovery of an Early British bronze mirror at Desborough is therefore notable on more than one account.

During the past three years the Desborough Co-operative Society has been excavating ironstone on its own property on the outskirts of the town, and extensive though scattered traces of occupation in Roman and pre-Roman times have been noticed. A summary of the more interesting minor finds is given elsewhere,<sup>a</sup> but internal evidence is all that is available for dating and classifying them, as the levels at which each occurred in the Northampton sand-bed or the soil above it could not be determined with accuracy, and there was no opportunity for a close examination of the various localities. There is, however, sufficient evidence to prove that the site was occupied by the Britons long before the Roman Conquest, next by Romanized Britons, and subsequently by the Anglo-Saxon invaders. Indeed, Desborough has long been known to students of our early English antiquities as the site of a remarkable discovery of jewels, which included a necklace of gold-mounted garnets and a gold pendent cross, evidently of Christian origin.<sup>b</sup> This, however, was at the east end of the town, and the recent discoveries were made on high ground to the west, mainly in the southern portion of field No. 62 on the 25-inch Ordnance Survey map.

<sup>a</sup> *Proceedings*, 2nd S. xxii. 333.

<sup>b</sup> Now in the British Museum: *Victoria History of Northants*, i. 237; necklace, fig. 2 on coloured plate.



All that has to be noticed here from Desborough consists of a bronze mirror (Plate XLIII.), beautifully engraved on the back, and a small bronze brooch (fig. 13), which, though not known to have been associated with the mirror, must be practically contemporary with it, and will be treated in conjunction with the brooch (fig. 10) that was found with the Birdlip mirror (Plate XLII.). The last example of Late-Celtic art is indeed the only rival to the Desborough mirror, and will be utilised to date and classify the other that was unhappily isolated. The opportunity will also be taken to describe other mirrors of the period and to illustrate several not hitherto published.

Lists of Late-Celtic mirrors have been drawn up by the late Sir Wollaston Franks in *Archaeologia*,<sup>a</sup> by Mr. Albert Way in the *Archaeological Journal*,<sup>b</sup> by Dr. Greenwell in *Archaeologia*,<sup>c</sup> and by Mr. Romilly Allen in his work on Celtic art (p. 115). These references will furnish practically all the literature on the subject; and in citing the various discoveries here, mention will only be made of the more important points, such as seem to bear on the date and origin of these peculiarly British productions.

*Trelan Bahow, St. Keverne, Cornwall.*—In 1833, during the construction of a road through a field called the Bahow, several graves were found near the southern margin of Goonhilly Down. They lay in a group 2 feet or 3 feet below the surface, each formed of six stone slabs set on edge with covering stones, and nearly in the east and west line. In one was a mirror in good condition, vitreous beads, bronze rings, and part of a brooch, which pointed to a woman's burial, and are now exhibited together in the British Museum through the generosity of the late Mr. J. J. Rogers, who described the find for the Royal Institution of Cornwall.<sup>d</sup>



Fig. 1. Bronze brooch,  
Trelan Bahow,  
St. Keverne, Cornwall.  
(British Museum.) (†.)

The mirror is 6 inches in diameter, the handle projecting  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches from the edge, and consisting of a loop with moulded collar; and the brooch fragment (fig. 1) consists of the bilateral spring and somewhat angular bow of a small specimen of La Tène III. type, such as is sometimes found with Roman specimens.

*Stamford Hill, Plymouth.*—This find is well known and is now preserved at

<sup>a</sup> Vol. xl. 510.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. xxx. 268.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. lx. 294.

<sup>d</sup> *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, iv. 266; *Archaeological Journal*, xxx. 267, with illustration of mirror. Trelan is said to mean a fuzzy place. *Early Iron Age Guide* (British Museum), fig. 91.



ENAMELLED BRONZE MIRROR, ENGRAVED BACK. FOUND AT BIRDLIP, GLOUCS. 13.





the Plymouth Athenæum. Several graves were found in 1864-5; and besides enamelled bracelets, brooches, glass, pottery, a bronze cup, shears, and a knife with sheath, there were the remains of three mirrors of this kind (two handles and one damaged disc).<sup>a</sup> The graves were lined and covered with limestone slabs and had evidently contained unburnt bodies in a sitting posture. Other relics were obtained from numerous rubbish pits, 4 feet to 4½ feet deep, cut in the disintegrated slate-rock through 1 foot of soil; "a considerable quantity of iron in a very decomposed state, apparently parts of implements of some kind," seems to have comprised arrowheads in lumps and knives with tangs. The mirror handles found without their discs are of different patterns, both characteristic of the period; and the mirror-back, which is 8½ inches in diameter, is engraved with three oval devices enclosing trumpet-spirals, which are as usual filled in with the basket-pattern. A narrow border, formed of a separate piece, is folded over the margin.

A brooch was found in the same grave as the mirror disc (which lay at the east end), but cannot be identified among the three illustrated. Two coins of Vespasian and Antoninus Pius have been found on the same hill, but not in association with the graves or other relics, and their evidence of date, such as it is, is neutralised by a number of early British coins found on the adjoining hill called Mount Batten.<sup>b</sup>

Of the two stray handles one measured 4 inches in length, with splayed ends to receive the plate; between these could be traced a figured plate on either face of the remaining fragment of the disc, in the same position as the ring on the Portland specimen. There is a simple moulding or knop in the centre of the handle and an elongated loop below. It belongs to the type illustrated by the Portland mirror and those from the Gibbs and Mayer collections.

The other has a broad ring at the end and a moulded bar-handle, 6 inches long, which seems to be a degradation of the Birdlip and Desborough patterns, the Old Warden handle furnishing a link between them.

*Birdlip, Gloucester.*—In 1879 a quarryman came upon three skeletons in a line, with the feet south, beside the road between Birdlip and Crickley, on the edge of the Cotswold Hills.<sup>c</sup> The graves were lined and covered with slabs of

<sup>a</sup> Illustrated in *Archæologia*, xl. pl. xxx-xxxii. p. 500; *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, i. (1864). 123.

<sup>b</sup> *Numismatic Journal*, i. 224; Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 72, 106, 128.

<sup>c</sup> *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, v. 137; J. R. Allen, *Celtic Art*, fig. of mirror opp. p. 68.



limestone, all whitewashed. The two extreme burials were those of male adults, but the centre was a woman's grave, richly furnished with objects all illustrated in the original account. On her face was a large bronze bowl, hammered very thin and turned on the lathe; its maximum diameter is 9 inches, the mouth  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and depth  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches. There was also a smaller bowl in the same style, maximum diameter 4 inches by 2 inches deep. Among the bones was a fine silver brooch (fig. 9) plated with gold, the spring being still perfectly elastic, and consisting of a bilateral coil with a chord below a spreading head. The footplate is in openwork, and on the bow is an elegant hook springing from a high moulding. There were four bronze rings of the plain or curtain-ring order, and a tubular bracelet of the same metal, also a bronze handle (fig. 2) of a knife, with a horned animal's head\* as terminal, the eyes having served



Fig. 2.  
Bronze knife-handle,  
Birdlip, Gloucs.  
(4.)

as sockets for gems or glass; and, further, a necklace of large ring-beads of amber, jet, and grey marble. But the chief piece of grave furniture was a bronze mirror of exceptional beauty (Plate XLII.), with an engraved back and moulded handle in the best Late-Celtic style. It is of oval form, the handle being attached to the longer side, the greater diameter being  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and the other  $9\frac{3}{4}$  inches. The weight is  $38\frac{1}{4}$  ounces, fairly heavy for a hand-mirror. The back is practically covered with eccentric scroll-work, with a filling of basket-work pattern,<sup>b</sup> and there is a C-scroll affixed to both faces just above the junction of the handle, each enclosing three pairs of red enamel dots,  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter. The trumpet-shaped terminals are continued by ring-and-dot punching on the surface, and the slight filling of this portion is of the same character. The applied scroll-work above the handle is held in position by a pair of stout rivets not symmetrically placed nor belonging to the original scheme of decoration; and close to the edge, where the solid bronze extension of the handle ceases and the separate edging began, are two short rivets that evidently fastened a band to conceal and

\* Compare that from Ham Hill, Somerset (*Proceedings*, 2nd S. xxi. 133), and complete animals from Veirupgaard, Fyen, Denmark (*Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. du Nord*, 1866-71. p. 161, fig. 3); from the entrance to Byčiskals grotto, Moravia (*Mitt. der Anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien*, vii. (1877), 125), and another with tipped horns from Tissö, Denmark (*Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1892, p. 230).

<sup>b</sup> This pattern is discussed in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, N.S. vii. 95; *Iron Age Guide*, 103.

strengthen the junction, but both band and edging have since disappeared. Part of the hollow rim, which tapered on receding from the handle, is now missing.

The handle is handsomely moulded, and its curves enriched by ribbed lines, while the oval terminal encloses a moulding in which are set two red enamel spots

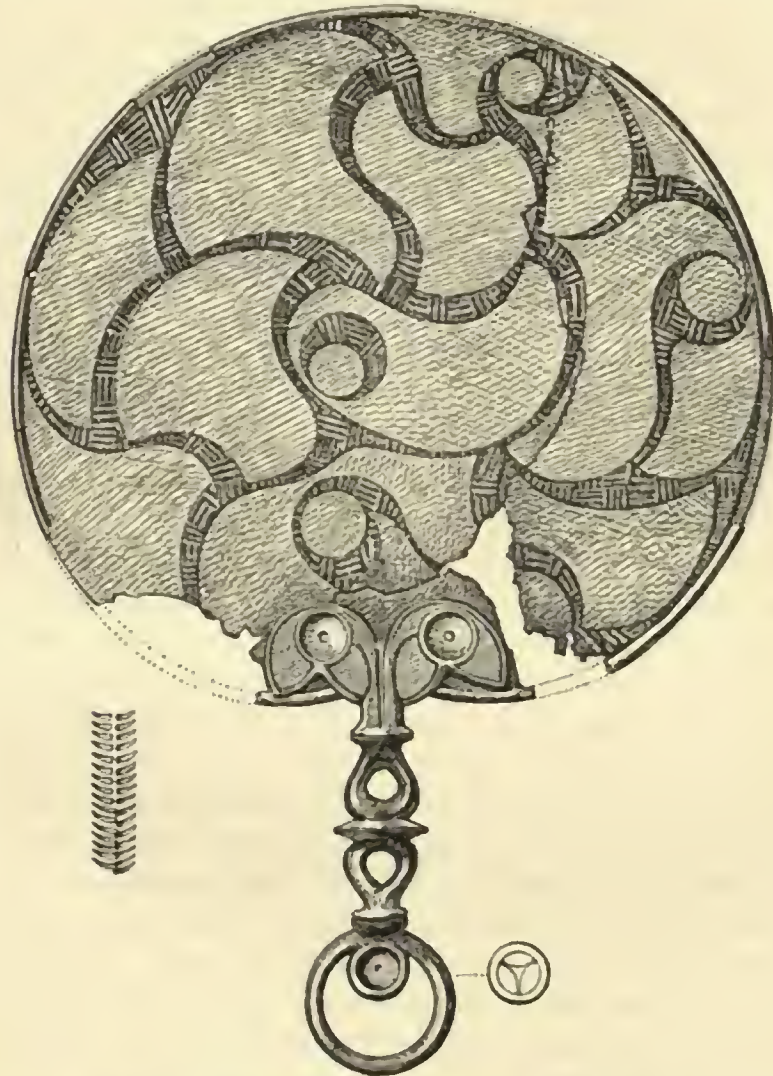


Fig. 3. Bronze mirror, engraved back, Old Warden, Beds. (4.)

on either face, exactly like those at the opposite end of the handle. In all these sixteen settings the enamel is well preserved, and of uniform colour, while in one case the surface has been chipped and a sound body revealed below.

*Old Warden, Bedfordshire.*—This specimen (fig. 3) was found in the clay



during excavations for the Warden tunnel of the Midland Railway, about six miles south-east of Bedford, and is now preserved at the Library, Bedford. When found it was broken in two parts, and is slightly kidney-shaped, with a diameter of  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches and a looped handle  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches long.<sup>a</sup> Mr. Wyatt, a well-known local geologist and archaeologist, believed that Roman coins and portions of large amphoræ were found with it, but these were speedily dispersed and sold by the navvies. The mirror was exhibited to the Society in 1860, and commented on by Sir Wollaston Franks.<sup>b</sup>

The disc within the terminal loop of the handle is countersunk for enamel on the back, and traces of the red enamel are still visible in the two similar settings at the other end of the handle. In this respect the Bedford mirror resembles the Birdlip example (Plate XLII.), and confirms the view that red was the only enamel colour in use at the time. Beside the handle may also be seen in the illustration the triskele design from the front that appears on several other examples; but the basket-pattern filling is on too small a scale for reproduction in this instance.

*Balmaclellan, Kirkeulbrightshire.*—This discovery was due to the draining of a bog, and has been well published.<sup>c</sup> The objects lay about 3 feet below the surface in four parcels, each group being wrapped in coarse linen cloth. Close by them was the upper stone of a quern, carved with a cruciform pattern, but not distinctly Late-Celtic. A crescent band of bronze 2 inches wide and 18 inches in diameter is engraved in the style of the mirrors, with running scrolls and basket pattern filling; and there were many thin plates of the same metal, some in strips and others arcaded, the latter having been affixed to wood, leather, or metal by means of small rivets with rosette heads. Except that all were edged with thin strips doubled over and pinned on, they resemble some tinned bronze found in an important hoard at Santon Downham, Suffolk, which seems to me to date from the time of the Claudian conquest (about A.D. 43).<sup>d</sup> The mirror found at Balmaclellan differs somewhat from the rest of the series in having a triskele perforation in the expanded end of the flat handle, and the back is not engraved, but at the junction of the handle is affixed a highly ornamented bronze plate with pearly edges and trumpet scrolls enclosing rosettes in relief. In the centres of

<sup>a</sup> *Archæological Journal*, xxvi. 71; xxx. 269.

<sup>b</sup> *Proceedings*, 2nd S. i. 263.

<sup>c</sup> J. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times: Iron Age*, 127, figs. 102-6; Daniel Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, ii. 229; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, iv. 293, 417.

<sup>d</sup> *Victoria History of Suffolk*, i.; *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, xiii. 153.

the three rosettes is the peculiar device which is engraved on the mirrors found at Birdlip and St. Keverne, a triangle with incurved sides set in a circle.<sup>a</sup> The mirror is circular, with a diameter of 8 inches, and part of the tubular edging is missing, while the handle is 5 inches long and broader than usual, rivet holes in it showing that some embossed work was originally affixed to it. Dr. Anderson aptly compares the mirror symbol so frequently engraved on sepulchral monuments of the early Christian period in Scotland, but these are some centuries later than the bronzes found at Balmacellan.

*Arras, East Riding, Yorks.*—Two iron mirrors, of which one alone survives (in the British Museum), have been found in Early Iron Age burials and published by this Society.<sup>b</sup> One was found underneath the head of a woman in a chariot-burial, the grave being 12 feet in diameter and sunk 3 feet in the chalk rock, and the mound above being 14 feet wide. The owner had evidently been of high rank, but the mirror bears no ornamentation except two bronze mounts, one at each end of the handle, which measures  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches. These mounts certainly betray the Celtic touch, but the terminating iron loop is insignificant, and the disc, which is under 7 inches across, is small in proportion. The other was described by Mr. Stillingfleet, and was found alone with a skeleton in a small barrow at Arras. The disc was about  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter, and the handle (including a ring at either end)  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. The relations between the chariot-using inhabitants of Yorkshire and the Southerners who possessed mirrors of bronze have yet to be determined. The difference in material is not the only one, for the mode of burial and various other features were not the same in the two areas, though the remains we have from both must have been practically contemporary.

To the lists already published may be added a few items that throw some light on the date and distribution, if not on the origin, of the engraved mirrors.

*Belbury Camp, Dorset.*—This Society has published<sup>c</sup> an illustrated account of finds in this earthwork near Higher Lychett, two miles from Lychett Bay, an inner recess of Poole Harbour, and though the objects are miscellaneous, the site is of great significance. The camp, of which a plan is given, contains rather more than 10 acres, and the outline is an irregular oval, the vallum being about 40 feet wide. The most striking specimens are two grotesque animal figures of cast bronze about 4 inches long, each with bull's head and horns, the legs spreading

<sup>a</sup> The same motive occurs on a bronze disc from the chariot-burial at Arras, E. R. Yorks. figured in *Archæologia*, lx. 284, fig. 27. See also the Old Warden and Desborough mirrors.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, lx. 286 (fig. 31), 294, note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> *Archæologia*, xlviii. 115, pl. vi.



as if for surmounting a helmet. There was also an anchor 4 feet 6 inches long, a pair of engraved bronze mounts, 1·3 inch long, resembling in shape an earthenware ridge-tile; eight glass beads, some iron tools and bars (perhaps currency-bars, one measuring 3 feet in length, 1 inch by  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch thick),<sup>a</sup> and fragments of two (or three) bronze mirrors such as those exhibited. What looks like a winged scabbard-chape of the Bronze Age is apparently the socket for holding the thin bronze disc of the mirror, as traces of it remained.<sup>b</sup>

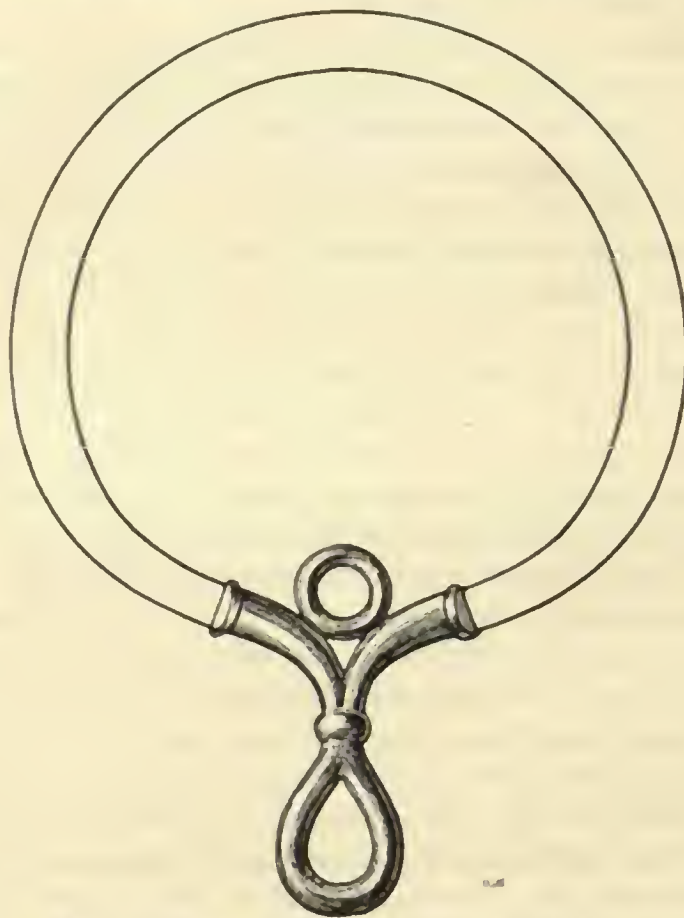


Fig. 4. Bronze mirror, Isle of Portland (Coburg Museum). (1.)

*Isle of Portland.*—In 1875 a mirror (fig. 4), of which no illustration has hitherto been published, was found 2½ feet deep in clay, and was presented to

<sup>a</sup> The objects and a large quantity of wrought iron were all found together from 2 feet to 3 feet underground. Compare the Stamford Hill find, *supra*.

<sup>b</sup> Plate vi. fig. 9; the other fragments are figs. 5, 6.

the Duchess of Edinburgh by the Governor of the Prison. It is now in the Coburg Museum, and a rough sketch of it is preserved at the British Museum, giving a diameter of  $6\frac{7}{8}$  inches. The disc appears to bear no engraving or ornament, and the handle is a simple loop with collar and splayed ends holding the plate. A peculiarity is a ring applied to the plate between the splayed ends of the handle, which otherwise resembles very closely that in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool.

*Glastonbury, Somerset.*—In the museum at Glastonbury is an interesting find from the lake-village that has not been fully published. The discovery was made in the early days of the exploration, and consisted of a plain mirror-disc (or rather oval), antimony, and rouge, evidently the toilet apparatus of an early British lady. There is also in that museum part of what I took to be a mirror-handle, and Mr. H. St. George Gray has been good enough to send me the following details: "The mirror was found with a pair of bronze tweezers among the palisading south of mound xxx. in 1895; and the handle (of a second) was found on the surface of mound xxii. in 1893. The mirror is not engraved on the back, the only ornament being an incised groove running all round close to the edge on both faces. It is of oval form, measuring  $5\frac{5}{8}$  inches by 5 inches, and very fragile. There are two rivet holes for securing the handle. The fragmentary handle is now 1·6 inch long and 1·3 inch broad." I would suggest that the incised lines round the edge were intended to hold in place a tubular border, like those on the Birdlip and Desborough examples.

*Rivenhall, Essex.*—By the kindness of Mr. Fred. Chancellor, J.P., details can here be given of a mirror (fig. 5) found in this village, near Witham, and now preserved in the Chelmsford Museum. It was found near the church in 1848, beside "a passage of Roman pavement  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, traced for 400 feet," and is only a fragment, but enough remains to show the characteristic scroll and basket-work, and the looped and splayed handle resembles that in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool, but lacks the collar.

*Billericay, Essex.*—Two bronze mirrors, both unfortunately imperfect, have



Fig. 5. Portion of engraved bronze mirror.  
Rivenhall, Essex  
(Chelmsford Museum.) (4.)



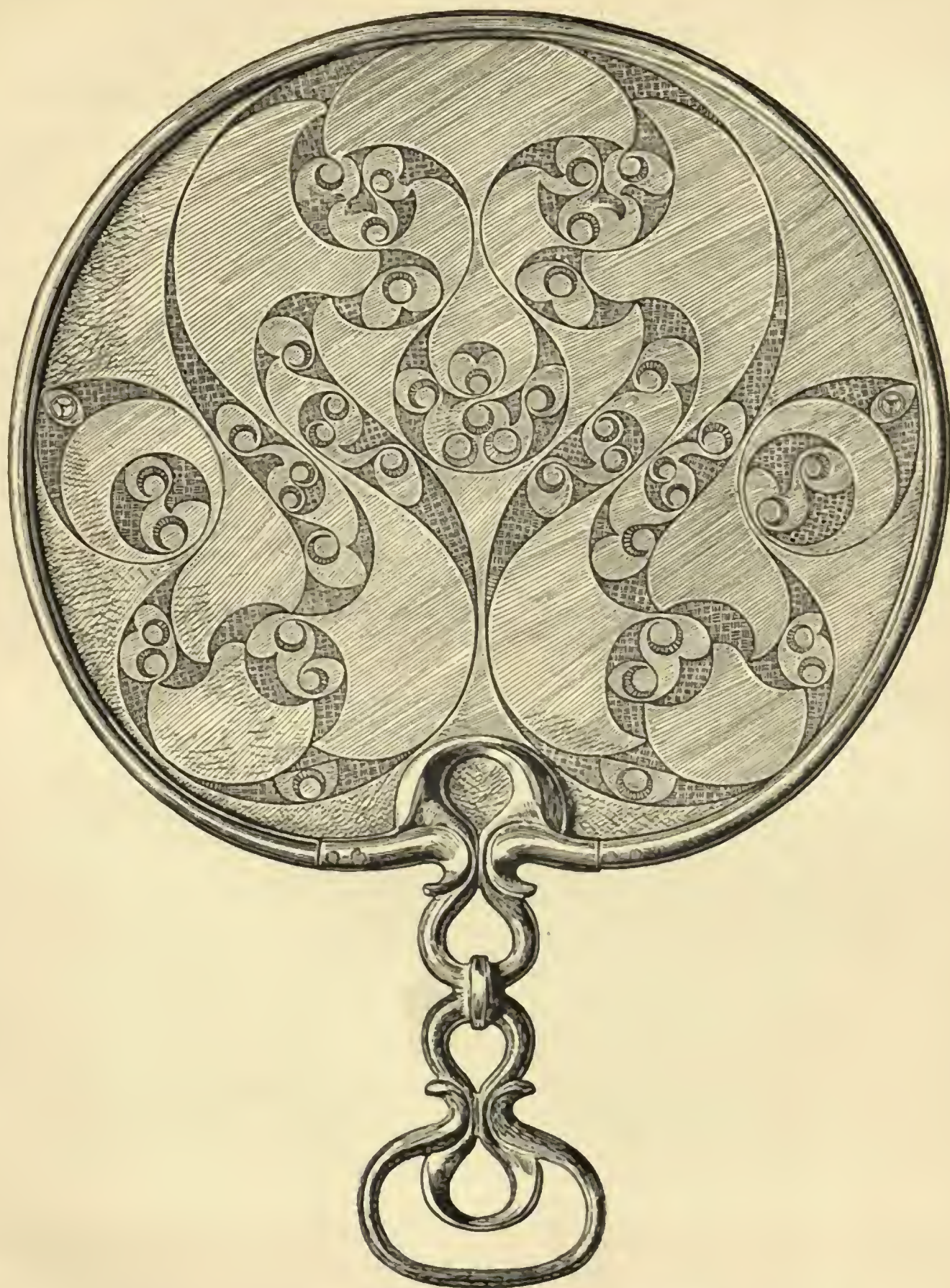
recently been added to the collection at Colchester. They were found about 1860 at Billericay, a site which has also produced a large and interesting series of British and Roman pottery. The finer of the two is of kidney shape, 7·4 inches across, and the handle is 4·1 inches long; the back is engraved with characteristic scroll work and basket pattern as filling. The second mirror is circular, with a diameter of 6·3 inches, and a plain handle 2·4 inches long, with an oval loop at the end. The pottery renders it almost a certainty that the mirror belonged to a burial after cremation, as at Colchester; but no urn is stated to have been found in close association with the mirror.

*Colchester, Essex.*—A specimen now in the Colchester Museum has been already exhibited to the Society by Dr. Laver and published with illustrations.\* Though a cordoned urn, provided with a cover, was quite empty, the large pedestal urn from this find probably contained burnt bones and the interment may be classed with the Aylesford group of cremations. The pair of large jugs and the coral-mounted bronze cup make this a most valuable find; and on a recent visit to Colchester I was allowed to examine the mirror and found, besides traces of engraved scrollwork, an imbricated filling, not of the usual basket-pattern. The handle is handsomely moulded and in good preservation, but the disc is imperfect and much incrustated. The diameter of the latter is just under 7 inches, and the handle just under 6 inches long.

*Desborough, Northants.*—During excavations for ironstone on the west of the village in the summer of 1908 a kidney-shaped mirror (Plate XLIII.) was found in the "baring" or disintegrated rock, but nothing else was noticed in its neighbourhood. From its excellent condition we may assume that it had been enclosed in the grave of a woman and not lost or thrown away as worn out and useless. The front and handle are still covered with a beautiful green patina, but the engraved back was unadvisedly cleaned with acid in removing some spots of lime deposit and the new surface has the colour and lustre of old gold, though gradually becoming bluish-green again. The mirror is practically identical with that found at Birdlip, Gloucestershire, in a woman's grave, but is in better condition, and though without enamel, is of somewhat finer execution. It is of kidney form with a major axis of  $10\frac{1}{4}$  inches and height of about  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches, the finely moulded handle projecting over the disc and measuring altogether 6 inches. Short arms in one piece with the handle are grooved to hold the disc, and the edging, which tapers away from the handle, is fastened to it by pairs of rivets. The handle is moulded on the same lines as the Birdlip example and the trumpet-pattern exten-

\* *Proceedings*, 2nd S. xx. 214.





BRONZE MIRROR WITH ENGRAVED BACK, FOUND AT DESBOROUGH, NORTHANTS. 12.)





sion which grips the plate is in high relief, and is repeated within the oval loop at the end of the handle.

The back is engraved with eccentric scroll-work of the usual character, but of unusual delicacy, and reference to the illustration will obviate the necessity of describing the indescribable. The crescentic loop is much in evidence, and at either extremity of the major axis should be noticed the double ring enclosing three segments, as on the mirrors from Old Warden (terminal) and Balmaclellan.\* The surface is pitted in places, the back about as much as the front, but the latter has still a beautiful polish, and is mostly covered with a turquoise-blue patina.

*Jordan Hill, Weymouth, Dorset.*—The mirror handle here illustrated (fig. 6) is of bronze, but differs in character from the rest under discussion, and is probably somewhat later. Though inferior work may have been produced at the time when Late-Celtic art was at its best, the present example has none of the free-hand feeling that characterises Early British art, and the design is stiff and commonplace. That it is also decadent is suggested by its association with bronze brooches dating about 100 A.D. Whether all were actually found together is uncertain; but as all came from the same site they were grouped together in Mr. George Payne's catalogue of the Darden Collection, and are in consequence exhibited together in the British Museum. The ring terminal and the splayed socket, as well as the openwork centre of the handle, are features common to most of the series, and the transverse grooves above and below the central ring represent, however inadequately, the collars or mouldings that beautify other specimens here illustrated. If the chronological data can be trusted, there would be a difference of about 50 years between the Desborough mirror and the Jordan Hill handle.

*Unknown localities.*—(i) Imperfect engraved specimen (fig. 7) with diameter of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches from the Disney Collection, now at the British Museum. John Disney (1779-1857) was a well-known collector, and deserved well of archaeological science by founding the Disney professorship at Cambridge, 1851. The handle consists of two omega-shaped loops placed head to head.



Fig. 6. Bronze handle of mirror.  
Jordan Hill, Weymouth.  
(British Museum.) (1.)

\* Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times: Iron Age*, 127; *Cat. Edinburgh Museum*, 195.



(ii) Similar imperfect specimen (fig. 8) from the Gibbs Collection now in the British Museum, with diameter of  $6\frac{1}{8}$  inches. The handle is a loop with splayed ends and a terminal ring. The bulk of the Gibbs Collection consists of Anglo-Saxon remains from the King's Field, Faversham, Kent, and the pre-

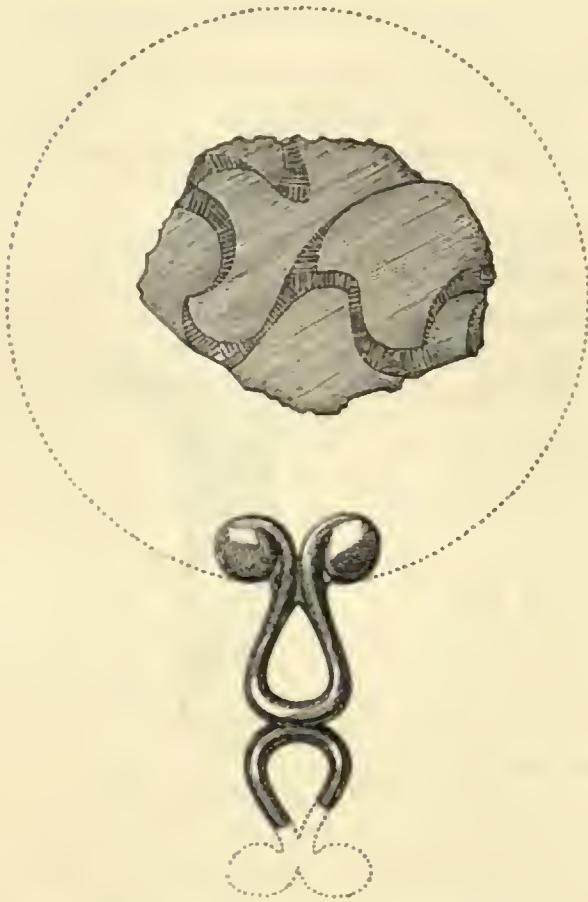


Fig. 7. Portions of bronze mirror, locality unknown. (Disney Collection, British Museum.) ( $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

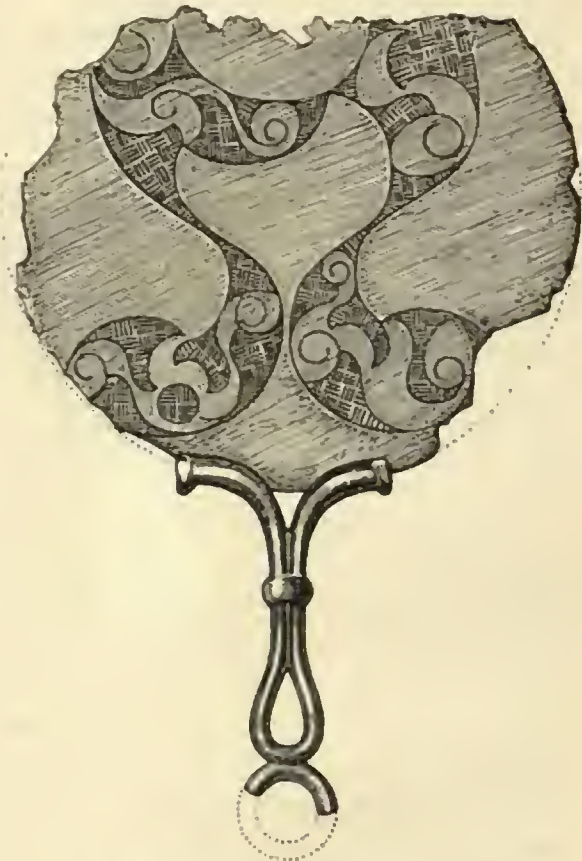


Fig. 8. Bronze mirror, locality unknown. (Gibbs Collection, British Museum.) ( $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

sumption is that the mirror was found in Kent; but no example is known to be preserved in the immense series of remains from this county.

(iii) The same may be said of the specimen\* from the Mayer Collection, now in the Liverpool Museum. The bulk of the collection consists of the Anglo-Saxon finds of Bryan Faussett near Canterbury, but there is nothing to prove

\* J. R. Allen, *Celtic Art*, 115, with fig.

that the mirror was not found elsewhere in England. In fact Sir Wollaston Franks surmised that it was found in the Thames near Barnes.<sup>a</sup>

The same authority states in *Horæ Ferales* that these mirrors "are probably not more ancient than the introduction of coinage into Britain, from 200 to 100 B.C., and not much later than the close of the first century after Christ, when the Roman dominion in this country was firmly established." I cordially agree with this estimate, and should like to attain still greater precision, but unfortunately the most recent find sheds little light on this point.

It will be admitted that there can be little difference of date between the



Fig. 9. Silver-gilt brooch, Birdlip, Gloucs. (Front, side, back, and end views.) (½.)

Desborough and Birdlip mirrors, and it is a fortunate circumstance that a brooch which can be accurately dated was found in indisputable association with the latter. The previous publication of this brooch omitted its most striking characteristics, which are only visible in a top view; namely, the unusual breadth and parallel edges of the bow and foot, and the peculiar moulding of head as well as the ornamentation of the bow. Its exhibition with the mirror and other furniture of the grave, by the kindness of the authorities of Gloucester Museum, brought these important details to light, and illustrated in a peculiar way the artistic habits of the Britons about the beginning of the Christian era.

The Birdlip brooch (fig. 9) is of silver, partly gilt, with a bow small in

<sup>a</sup> *Proceedings*, 1st S. iii. 118; *Archæological Journal*, xxvi. 72.



proportion to the length of the foot, and a spiral spring of seven coils partly covered by the head. The pin forms one termination of the wire coil, and, when the brooch is fastened, rests in a catch behind the foot; the catch-plate being pierced in two places. These openings, instead of being separated by step-pattern,<sup>a</sup> are of curved triangular form, exhibiting the Late-Celtic dislike of rigid symmetry. The foot is of triangular section or gable pattern, the central ridge being ornamented with a wavy line in a groove, and the sloping sides edged with punched dots. An end view (see fig. 9) shows curved lines of dots repeating the slopes of the foot and separating the gilt from the plain silver surfaces, while below is seen the circular end of the catch-plate. At the junction of the foot and bow is a hook-like projection and a collar or raised moulding forming a segment of a circle. The head is embellished with Late-Celtic curves which enclose two circular settings, while a third is situated just above the collar on a dotted ground. All three settings were originally enamelled in red, recalling the decoration of the mirror handle, and in two of them are still remains of the red enamel. Below the collar in the base of the hook or curl are inserted two rivets which pass through to the back and are visible in the back view.

The spiral spring starts from the middle of the row of coils, and, though the mode of attachment is invisible, is probably in one piece with the head. The wire forms four coils on one side and then, in the form of a chord, passes under the inner side of the head and makes three more turns before straightening out to constitute the pin. The spring is still good, and the pin reaches to within  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch of the foot-moulding, when placed in the catch. The entire length of the brooch is 2.4 inches, breadth of spring 0.7 inch, maximum breadth of head 0.7 inch, and length of catch exactly 1 inch.

Comparison with continental examples at once reveals the source of this pattern, and at the same time shows how the British craftsman improved upon his models. The type is generally known by the German name of *Augenfibel* or "eye-brooch," on account of the pair of engraved rings on the head, just above the spring cover (fig. 10), that faintly suggest human eyes, but are not connected with them in origin. The evolution of the group has been carefully illustrated by Dr. Oscar Almgren,<sup>b</sup> of Stockholm, from whose volume on the brooches of Northern Europe the following account is borrowed, figs. 10-12 being inserted with his permission.

<sup>a</sup> As in many brooches of La Tène III. type in Britain and abroad; see *Iron Age Guide*, fig. 83, and a magnificent unpublished specimen of unknown locality now exhibited in the British Museum.

<sup>b</sup> *Die nord-europäischen Fibelformen*, 21, pl. iii.

The most striking feature of the "Augenfibel" is a pair of holes, hollows, or double rings, stamped or engraved, in the head just above the spring-cover. The concentric rings eventually disappear from the head and appear at the extremity of the foot, and the type also includes later specimens of the same pattern that have no such markings. The bow is always broad, with nearly parallel edges; the foot cut off at right angles and generally engraved with a triangular pattern at the end; while the form and position of the catch-plate beneath the foot are practically unchanged. The successive modifications of the type are confined to the head, the disc on the bow, the spiral spring, and the hook to hold the "chord" of the

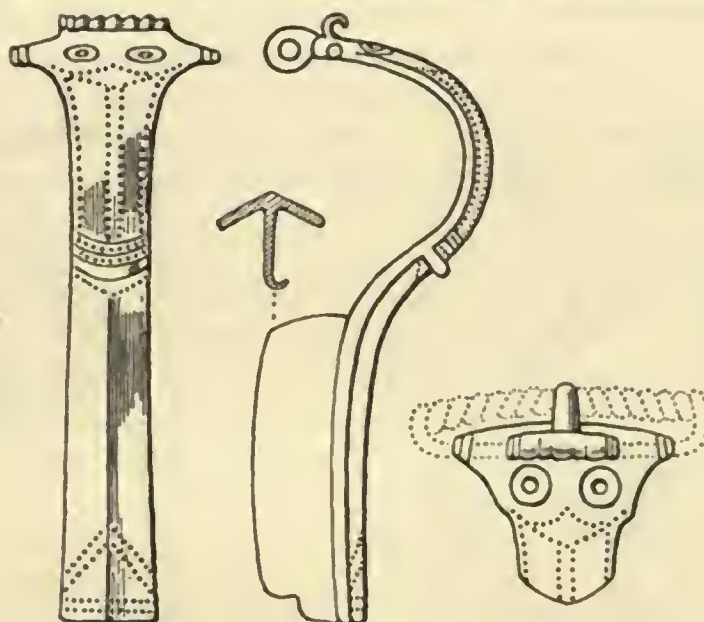


Fig. 10. Eye-brooch from Kuipers, Jave, Estonia. (†.)

spring. As is frequently the case in evolutionary series, the best and most typical examples are the earliest, and development is often another name for degeneration. Thus fig. 11 is among the earliest brooches to which the term "Augenfibel" can be applied, and is evidently earlier and more typical than fig. 10.

The "eyes" are derived from the curls on the head of fig. 12, which we may assume to have closed up and formed rings, as copy after copy was made by workmen who had no access to the original and only worked from copies.

Most of the essential elements of the "eye-brooch" are there present in embryo, but do not entitle fig. 12 to that name, as the bow is not of the requisite pattern, and the rings are incomplete. It is, however, easy to detect in the



moulding or collar on the bow the germ of the disc that springs from the junction of bow and foot in fig. 11; and the curve and general construction of the bow and foot are the same in both examples. The earlier brooch (fig. 12) is said by Dr. Almgren to be a middle German type, while fig. 11 is represented in early Roman stations on the Rhine, and can thus be approximately dated. For instance, this latter form occurs at Hofheim, near Wiesbaden, the occupation of the Roman camp dating 40-60 A.D.;<sup>a</sup> and as debased forms also occur on this site, it is perhaps permissible to fix the *floruit* of the "eye-brooch" just before the middle of the first century. The type seems to have passed entirely out of fashion by the end of the century.

The distribution of this brooch-type may be briefly described as throwing

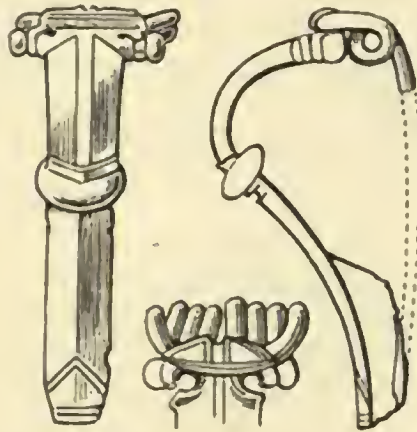


Fig. 11. Bronze brooch, Sejvide, Sjonhem, Isle of Gothland. (Almgren, fig. 45.) (1.)

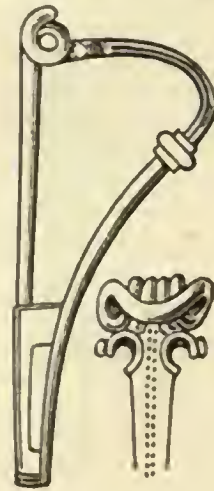


Fig. 12. Bronze brooch, Buchow, Ost-Havelland, Brandenburg. (Almgren, fig. 44.) (1.)

some light on tribal or commercial movements in that obscure period. Its area is unusually wide, including the Rhenish and Danubian provinces of the Roman empire, and northern Europe from the Baltic provinces through Prussia to Belgium, while specimens have even been found as far afield as Aquileia in Italy, and Olympia in Greece. It also occurs in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark,<sup>b</sup> and though rare in East Prussia has frequently been found in West Prussia and Hanover. The three specimens found in Belgium all came from the eastern side

<sup>a</sup> Déchelette, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1905, i. 204. *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung*, vol. xxxiv.

<sup>b</sup> S. Müller, *Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager* (Jernalderen), figs. 94, 97. There are 50 specimens in Copenhagen Museum from Jutland and Fyen.

of that country, and research in our own museums might settle the question whether any reached these shores.

The fact that bronze mirrors have been found in southern Britain, in an area that offered little resistance to the advance of Roman civilisation, suggests for them a date prior to the Claudian Conquest, or shortly after that event, for otherwise there would have been some trace of Roman influence in these artistic products. Nothing of the kind has yet been observed, and a lower limit is thus obtained for their period, while the obvious connection between the Birdlip brooch and the "Augenfibel" provides a higher limit, at least for the Birdlip and, by implication, the Desborough mirrors. In this way their date can be narrowed down considerably; and though some are no doubt earlier and others possibly later, the chief examples can thus be attributed to the middle of the first century. The exclusive use of red enamel is also an indication that Roman fashions and methods of ornamentation had not yet been introduced, when British craftsmen engraved the best of our mirror-backs.

The brooch (fig. 13) found in the same field, but not necessarily in the same deposit as the Desborough mirror, may well be of the same date, and certainly belongs to the same pre-Roman civilisation. It is of the type known as La Tène III., and marks one of the last stages in the evolution of the pre-Roman brooch, a still simpler form apparently surviving well into the Roman period. The bilateral spring in one piece with the bow is still in evidence, and there is still a triangular opening in the footplate, recalling the returned foot of La Tène I. and II.; but the bow no longer consists of thick round wire. It is beaten out and ornamented with engraved zigzags, like certain details in the mirrors, the result being a more fanciful production than one (fig. 1) of the same general type, found with the Trelan Bahow mirror. The foot of this is unfortunately missing, but the bow and spring so closely resemble those of several in the British Museum that a complete restoration is allowable, and the foot would on that hypothesis have been formed by hammering out the lower end of the bow and turning the edge to form the catch. There is not much difference of date between them, but to judge from the above details, the Cornish brooch would be the later of the two. The same is probably true of the mirrors from the respective sites, but the association of the Desborough brooch is not authenticated and cannot be regarded as proof.

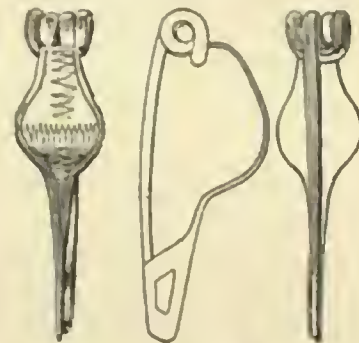


Fig. 13. Bronze brooch, Desborough.  
(Front, side, and back views) (1.)



The date of our best British mirrors being thus roughly determined, the question of their derivation remains to be considered. The style and workmanship are distinctly native, but the idea of metal mirrors was not a novelty to Europe. Not to mention earlier examples in the classical world, we may recall the enormous series from Etruria that range from the end of the fourth century to the beginning of the second century B.C.<sup>a</sup> They were most abundant and best executed about the middle of the third century, and consisted of a bronze disc engraved with human and other figures on the back, and provided with a handle of metal, bone, or ivory. The Romans of the early Empire used mirrors of speculum metal (white bronze), somewhat smaller than the Etruscan, and examples have been found in Britain<sup>b</sup>; but the decoration of the back generally consists of concentric circles, and are much less likely than the Etruscan to have suggested the scroll-work on British specimens. As is well known, the Late-Celtic artist did not excel in portraying men or animals, and preferred eccentric scroll-work, which sometimes caricatured figure-subjects; and the method of engraving the back (instead of moulding the ornament) suggests a somewhat close connection between the two series. Bronze jugs of classical form and workmanship dating before the Christian era are said to have been found in Britain,<sup>c</sup> and it would not be surprising to hear of an Etruscan mirror being found in our soil. No authentic instance seems to have been recorded, but it is significant that four British mirrors have been found on or near our south coast in an area easily accessible to Greek and Carthaginian traders. Classical examples acquired by barter may well have been copied (with reservations) on the spot by native craftsmen who distributed their products inland, but the distribution of mirrors in Britain presents some points of difficulty.

With the exception of Balmaclellan, which produced a late and hardly typical example, all the sites of bronze specimens are in the south of England, and all are within the imaginary line from the Bristol Channel to the Wash, that also serves as a rough limit for inscribed coins, not to mention palæolithic implements of the Drift. Several of the mirrors recorded above have no exact provenance, but there is not the slightest evidence that they were found north of the line; and in view of their comparative abundance in Essex, it is probable that some of those herein mentioned were found in Kent, a county that rivals Essex in respect of Late-Celtic finds. Chance or systematic excavation may some day explain the apparent anomaly.

<sup>a</sup> Helbig, *Guide des Musées de Rome*, ii. 314; Martha, *L'Art Etrusque*, 555; Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*; *Revue Archéologique*, 1902, i. 245; 1909, 23.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, xxvi. 467; C. R. Smith, *Roman London*, 129; *Proceedings*, 2nd S. iii. 55, iv. 433, xi. 13, and several in the British Museum.

<sup>c</sup> *Proceedings*, xx. 266.

X.—*On the White Conduit, Chapel Street, Bloomsbury, and its connexion with the Grey Friars' water system.* By PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., LL.D., Treasurer, and ERNEST A. MANN, Esq.

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Read 21st January, 1909.

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THE history of the old systems of water supply in London is of considerable interest, and much of it remains untold, the material evidence being largely hidden below ground, but from time to time some important fact comes to light. This was the case ten years ago, when in a paper read before the Society and printed in *Archaeologia*,\* Mr. Norman succeeded in proving that the water supply for the convent of the Grey Friars, or Friars Minors of the Franciscan Order, in London was largely drawn from a conduit-head which still contains water and is to be seen in the garden of a house numbered 20, Queen Square, Bloomsbury.

Part of the information contained in that paper is based on a register of the Grey Friars' Convent now among the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum and marked Vitellius F. 12.<sup>b</sup> Great help was also obtained from a series of original documents belonging to Christ's Hospital, which, after the suppression, inherited the Grey Friars' buildings and water system. From the register it appears that quite early in the history of the convent there were two distinct conduit-heads or tanks, where the water was gathered from springs in their immediate neighbourhood, and whence it was conveyed through a pipe to the convent. Manuscripts at Christ's Hospital proved that the more distant one,

\* Vol. lvi. 251-266.

<sup>b</sup> The account of the Grey Friars' water system, which is in Latin, is given in the preface to *A Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, edited by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., and printed for the Camden Society in 1852. This chronicle really forms the last portion of the register. In 1722-23 Captain John Stevens had already extracted part for his additions to Dugdale's *Monasticon*.



namely that in Queen Square, was latterly known as the Chimney or Devil's Conduit, and that the other, called in 1661 and afterwards the White Conduit, was encroached on by a house in Chapel Street, Lamb's Conduit Street, being abandoned shortly after the year 1739. This gave the approximate site, for the street is less than a hundred yards long, but the chance of finding the actual structure, or even of its existence, seemed a remote one, when in 1907 Mr. Mann was fortunate enough to come upon it in fairly good condition. His discovery supplies the gist of what follows, but in order to make matters clear it is necessary to give a brief account of the Grey Friars' water supply generally, though this entails some repetition of what appeared in the former paper.

In the year 1228 the Grey Friars, after being established for a time on Cornhill, removed to a site north of Newgate Street, afterwards occupied by Christ's Hospital, which has now in its turn given place to an extension of the General Post Office. Various citizens helped them by subscribing for the buildings thereon erected. The water supply was also paid for by their supporters. Thus William, called from his trade the 'Taylor (in which capacity he served King Henry III.), gave the "head of the aqueduct," while the king and others assisted in providing the water pipes, and William of Basynges supervised the work. We are told that afterwards Geoffrey de Camera built the new house at the second "head," and improved the old one. It seems therefore not improbable that at first what was known in comparatively recent times as the White Conduit had formed the limit of the Grey Friars' water supply, and that the Chimney Conduit was a later extension.

As to the course of the water pipe, the register records how, after passing from the convent under Newgate, by St. Sepulchre's church and along Holborn it was taken up Leather Lane to the north, and thence through open country to the mill of Thomas of Basynges. From there, following a north-westerly direction for about a furlong, it reached the nearer head (or White Conduit), which according to the register supplied most of the water to the convent. It then proceeded almost due west to the further "head, the little stone house whereof" was "seen from a distance." A plan (Plate XLIV.) is here given showing the original course of the water pipe in relation to streets existing at the end of the eighteenth century, before the formation of Skinner Street, and of course long before the Fleet Valley was spanned by the Holborn Viaduct. The direction of the more westerly parts of Holborn and of Leather Lane remains as it was in mediæval times. The streets west of Leather Lane, indicated in the plan, were laid out quite five centuries or more after the Grey Friars' water system and have not been





PLAN SHOWING THE MEDIÆVAL WATER-SYSTEM OF THE GREY FRIARS' CONVENT, PROJECTED ON TO HORWOOD'S MAP OF 1799.

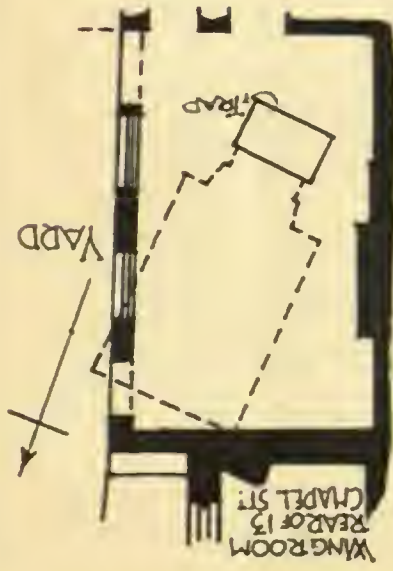
The dotted red lines show modern streets.



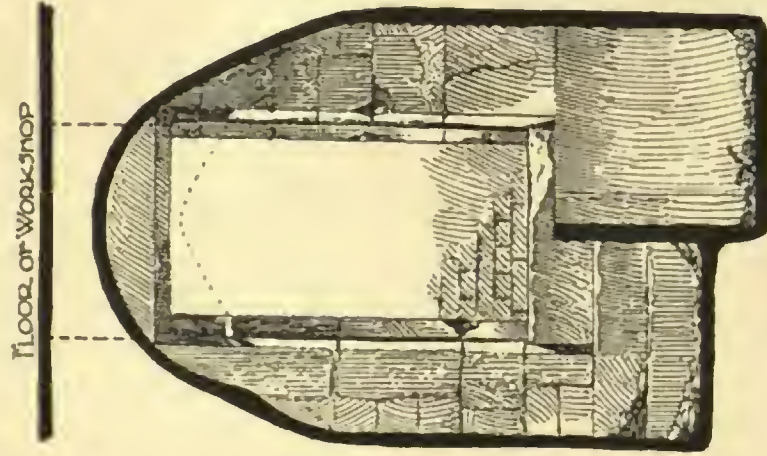






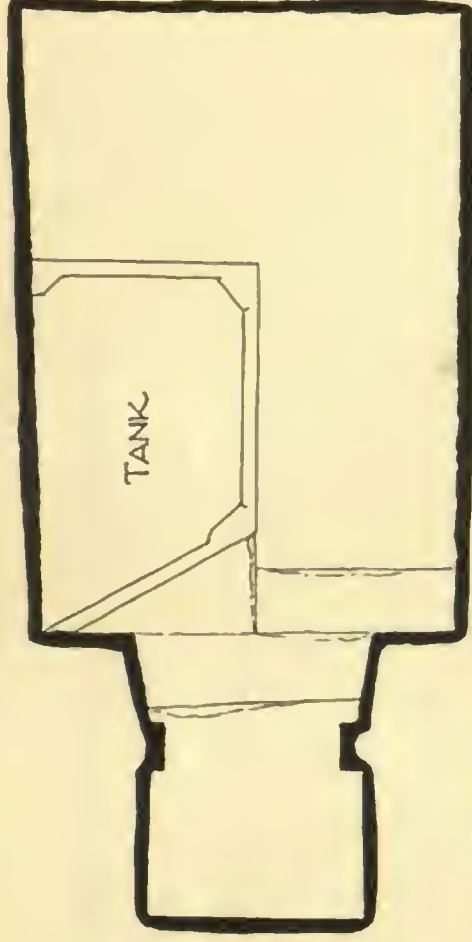


PLAN OF WORKSHOP SHOWING  
DIAGONAL POSITION OF CHAMBER.  
SCALE:  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. = 1 ft.



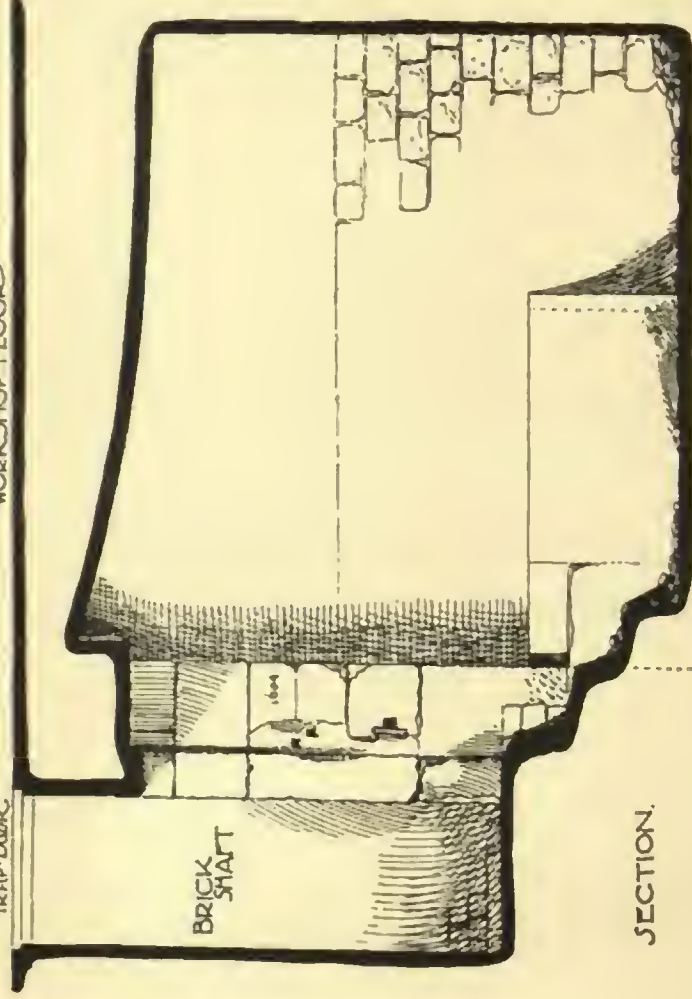
TRANSVERSE SECTION.

NOTE: DOTTED LINE INDICATES HEIGHT  
& SHAPE OF ROOF AT NORTH END.



PLAN.

WORKSHOP FLOOR.



SECTION.

1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12/feet

ERNEST A. MANN.  
Mans. & Arch. 1908.

essentially altered. Our plan shows the line of the pipe in relation to these streets and also the old line of Holborn. We would add that the distance between the convent and the nearer conduit-head, first following the streets and then going in more or less of a straight line across the open country, appears to have been a little over a mile, and to the more distant head about another quarter of a mile. As regards the fall of water from the springs to the convent, a point in Russell Square, less than 100 yards west of the Queen Square conduit-head, is marked on the Ordnance survey map as 82·5 feet above sea level. Thence to Chapel Street the fall is about 7 feet, while Newgate Street, immediately south of the convent site and another point to the north just east of St. Bartholomew's Hospital are both between 58 and 59 feet above sea level, so that the fall in a mile and a quarter seems only to have been about 24 feet. Bearing in mind leakage and theft, besides the deposit from impurities, we need not wonder if the authorities of Christ's Hospital sometimes complained that the water failed to "come home."

It was in August, 1907, during a professional survey upon the London estates of the Governors of the Rugby Charity, that Mr. Mann, without at the time being aware of Mr. Norman's paper, rediscovered what was latterly known to be the White Conduit, once the chief "head" of the water supply of the Grey Friars' religious house, and thus was enabled to complete the history of the Grey Friars' water system.

The chamber referred to is situated below the floor of a workshop in the rear of premises now numbered 13, Chapel Street, a short thoroughfare leading eastward from Lamb's Conduit Street to Millman Street, in the district of Bloomsbury. The workshop, together with the adjacent forge fronting to that part of Emerald Street which was formerly called Green Court and lies south of Chapel Street, is in the occupation of Messrs. Wills and Sons, ironworkers.

Like the more distant "head" described in the previous paper, the Chapel Street head is now subterranean. The general appearance and size of it are shown in the measured drawings prepared by Mr. Mann (Plate XLV.), and here follows a detailed description given in his own words:

"Access is now obtained by means of a trap door in the workshop floor 3 feet 2 inches long by 2 feet 2 inches wide, the full size of a brick-built shaft. This shaft is about 7 feet deep from the workshop floor, an iron ladder being provided for the purposes of descent. I am told by Messrs. Wills and Sons, who have been the occupiers for 33 years past, that although they were informed of the existence of some such chamber there was no access until the present trap door was constructed by them and the chamber put into use as a receptacle for



their accumulating scrap iron refuse. Before this the workshop floor had been carried right over the shaft without the provision of any opening. They had no knowledge of its history; their only ideas on the subject were that it had been used for secret coining or for illicit distilling.

The longer axis of the chamber is due north and south, and the entrance with the enclosing brick shaft is at the south end. This repeats the arrangement at the conduit-head by Queen Square. The dimensions between the walls are 9 feet by 6 feet. The lower part of the chamber on three sides is built of stone up to the springing of the arched roof, the south wall in which the doorway is placed being entirely of stone. The stones to the sides and head of the doorway are rebated, and several are of the full thickness of the wall, the inner reveals having a slight splay. There is now no door, but a stout wrought-iron pintle still in position on the east side, and a portion of the lower hook, are sufficient evidence of a heavy door having at one time been hung, and there are square sinkings as bolt holes, and a rough iron plate as a catch on the opposite reveal. The lintel forming the door-head projects into the chamber beyond the inner face of the wall, and the doorway itself, being square-headed, suggests that the south enclosing wall may have been a later addition to the original structure.

The stone of which the chamber is built has the appearance of roughly dressed blue Portland, very similar to the 'fire-stone' of which the Queen Square conduit-head is constructed, and much like that said to be found within a mile or two northward capping the hill at Highgate. It is laid, except to the south wall, in courses of a depth varying from 4 inches to 6 inches, the cubes being from 4 inches to 10 inches in width on the face.

The roof is arched as shown on the sections, and is reduced in height gradually from front to back, the apex being more pointed towards the back (north end) than at the front, as shown by the dotted lines on the transverse section. It is constructed from the springing, of lime-stone (almost pure chalk) in cubes or voussoirs showing about 7 inches by 7 inches on the face, and being very closely jointed, the edges appearing in some parts as sharp and clean as when first squared. A flint of some size can be seen imbedded in one of the cubes forming part of the north wall in a hole that has been roughly cut for some unknown purpose.

The use of chalk in the construction of this roof is of interest in view of the fact that the chamber was known as the White Conduit. It has been suggested that this name may have been given to it because it was whitewashed in early times like the keep of the Tower of London, called on that account the White

Tower, but the name White Conduit does not appear in the Christ's Hospital books until 1661, and no doubt it has a similar origin to that of the well-remembered White Conduit at Pentonville, originally a reservoir connected with the Charterhouse. This was in existence from 1430 or 1431 onwards, but apparently was not so called until its rebuilding in 1641, when the date and the arms of Sutton were placed thereon; illustrations of it are not uncommon. Tomlins,\* a good authority, says, 'it appears from all accounts to have been an arched structure cased with white stone from which it received its appellation of White Conduit.' He tells us that there was another well-head so called at Highbury.

To return to our Chapel Street chamber. The block plan shows it placed diagonally with regard to the existing workshop which has been built over it, and also shows the north-west angle projecting about a foot into the corner of the basement wing room of No. 13, Chapel Street. This encroachment forms the subject of special mention in one of the Christ's Hospital minutes quoted in the previous paper. It seems that in 1727 the 'White Conduit having been almost buried by the raising of the ground, a house was built upon one corner of the same.'

The floor of the chamber is now of earth, and is 2 feet 5 inches below the bottom of the entrance shaft, from which the descent is by three well-worn stone steps. The probability is that the general surface of the ground at the time of the erection of the conduit was at the level of the top step, and that the descent to the lower level was for the convenience of intercepting or inspecting the leaden pipe through which the water was conveyed to the convent, or to reach conveniently the varying water levels in the chamber.

In the south-west corner a tank has been formed of slabs of hard stone  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick, tooled on the inner face, with stone slips rebated to the angle joints; one of these slips appearing to come from another place, as it shows a moulding of fourteenth-century character. The bottom of the tank is 9 inches lower than the present floor of the chamber. The side towards the doorway is splayed to admit the opening of the door, and to allow the door to open as widely as possible a sinking has been made in the arched roof for the top corner of the door to swing into. We may reasonably assume that for the purpose of collecting the water as it issued from the supply before it was passed on to the consumers, this receptacle would serve as a convenient settling tank where it could clear itself from impurities. Here also an opportunity would be afforded for the dipping of a bucket or other vessel. Apart from the doorway there does not seem to

\* T. E. Tomlins, *A Perambulation of Islington* (London, 1858), 162.



have been any vent to the White Conduit, though two rough holes now exist in the north wall near the roof.

An inspection of the roof surface reveals the fact that the mania for recording a visit by cutting a name, initials, or dates, is not confined to modern trippers, the soft material of which it is made having attracted the handiwork of various persons who, after trying here to save themselves from utter oblivion in this world, have long ago passed away to another. The earliest date discernible upon the chalk is 1595, with an indistinct monogram, of which a rubbing is reproduced. The only inscription on the stonework is a clearly cut date, 1604, upon the left hand reveal of the doorway with the name 'W. Wilson' above it. There are many other initials and dates upon the chalk, but none so far discovered earlier than that above mentioned.

Mr. Norman does not refer to them in the previous paper, but from a further examination of the conduit-head in Queen Square it appears that the stones of the entrance to that chamber, which have dressed or rubbed faces, are very closely covered with initials, names, and dates, in many instances carefully cut, the earliest date found being 1600. Above several of the names appears the sacred monogram, with a small cross superimposed upon the bar of the H.

It is perhaps needless to point out that the dates so far observed at both buildings are all much later than the Suppression. It seems that towards the end of the sixteenth century the doors which had previously secured the two chambers were for some unknown reason removed.

After the lapse of many years it has been my good fortune to rediscover the White Conduit provided for the Grey Friars as early as the thirteenth century. It is gratifying to know that the trustees of the Rugby Charity, to whom I am indebted through their surveyors for access to the chamber, having been made acquainted with the fact that they have under their charge so important a relic of antiquity as that we have been considering, are taking such steps as they deem advisable to preserve from future use and damage a structure which, it is earnestly to be hoped, will survive the demolition that must before many years overtake the adjoining workshops."

Here ends Mr. Mann's account of the White Conduit. By his interesting discovery he has thus added much that was essential to our full knowledge of the subject.

The Christ's Hospital authorities having been good enough to allow further access to their series of official books it has been thought well to add the following extracts relating to the Grey Friars' water system by way of supplement to those already given in the paper on the Chimney Conduit.









The earliest book to record meetings for the transaction of business appears to be a court book beginning in 1556, which contains but one entry relating to a conduit, and that is at "Canbury," presumably Canonbury, where we know that a conduit-head existed, once belonging to the Priory of St. Bartholomew in West Smithfield. In the next book, unindexed and extending to 420 folios, no reference is apparent.

On the 1st April, 1602, there was an order that part of the pipes being "sore decayed" were to be replaced between the cesperill on this side of Newgate and the "great counditt in this house."

After various unimportant references the following minute in a committee book dated 25th September, 1661, which was briefly mentioned in the former paper, seems worth quoting in full: "This Court was informed that the pipe which doth convey the water from the Conduite of this hospitall is soe defective that the house hath little or noe water and that for the gaineing thereof care had bene taken in diggeing of severall holes betweene the Chimney Conduite and the White Conduite for the cleereinge of the said pipe, which cannot be thorowley effected unlesse 3 or 4 holes more be broake upp. This Court after a large debate resolved that y<sup>e</sup> pipe should be clered from y<sup>e</sup> Chinney Conduite to the White Conduite. And doe desire a Gen<sup>all</sup> Court to appoint some persons to looke after such workemen as shall being (sic) employed in the doeing thereof."

Again in a court book there is an entry only two days afterwards, viz. 27th September, 1661, telling us that "the Conduite water had not come well home to the hospitall to serve this house with water"; also that "about the Chimney Conduit in Grays Inn Fields there was many things amisse in the pipe and that the said pipe runing to the great White Conduite is very old and much decayed and that in Grays Inn Lane and other places thereabouts severall persons had taken away a great parte of the water which ought not to be suffered."

The following entry seems important, as it may indicate a change of course of the pipe as shown in the Christ's Hospital plan of 1676, a copy of which we have the privilege of furnishing as an illustration. (Plate XLVI.) The reference, however, is by no means clear. The entry also gives the price of plumbers' work at that time and other curious particulars, it runs as follows:

30 May 1671. "The Committee had a large debate concerning the bringing of the Conduit water to this Hospitall and last it was agreed that the Plumbers' note now rendered to this Committee of the charge of bringing the same to the house should be considered at the next meeteing."



An Estimate of the Digging, Paveing and laying of the Conduit Pype belonging to Christs Hospitall from the upper part of Graies Inn Lane to Leather Lane and in Holborn.

	£	s.	d.
ffor 700 yards of Inch and $\frac{1}{2}$ Pype at 4 <sup>s</sup> . 6 <sup>d</sup> $\phi$ yard .	157	10	0
ffor Sodder . . . . .	21	0	0
ffor Cocks . . . . .	2	0	0
ffor 3 Cesperills 10 footo deepe . . . . .	10	0	0
ffor Carriage fireing Candles and Pluggs . . . . .	3	5	0
ffor workmanshipp . . . . .	24	0	0
ffor Plancks to cover the Cesperills . . . . .	2	0	0
ffor vent Pypes . . . . .	4	0	0
ffor Digging and paveing 700 yards at 3 <sup>s</sup> . . . . .	105	0	0
	<u>£328</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>

27th June, 1678. The Court finds "that frequently there are ill disposed persons that doe Steale or conveigh the Conduite water from the maine pipes for their owne private use to the great damago of this Hospital and that it would be very necessary to gett an order of his Matie and Council for the preserveing of the Springs of the Conduite and pipes that conveigh the water from Grayes Inne fieldes to the Hospitall, and that a Warrant should be had there upon to apprehend any person whom thero is Just cause to Suspect shall take or conveigh the said water from the said pipe or pipes. The Court desired the Wor<sup>d</sup> *Samuell Pepys, Esq<sup>r</sup>*. to procure an Order of the Councill if need shall require or use any other way or meanes which may prove effectuall for removall of this great drainage to this House."

Pepys was of course the famous diarist and naval administrator who took much interest in the affairs of the hospital and was appointed a governor. The huge picture by Verrio of King Charles II. in the act of delivering the charter to the mathematical school there was painted at the suggestion of Pepys.

In the previous paper mention is made of a proposal, 30th July, 1690, to avoid the new buildings and enclosures of that eminent "projector," Dr. Barbone (in spite of his Italianized name, a son of Praisegod Barebones) by laying a new pipe from the Chimney Conduit "straight along the south side of the ditch to the passage by Lamb's Conduite and soe up that passage to the White Conduite, which will be from the said conduite to the White Conduite neare 500 yards." The ditch or stream thus referred to, running in a westerly direction to a point a little north of the Chimney Conduit, is marked on several eighteenth century maps to be seen in the Crace collection at the British Museum. Much of the soil

in this neighbourhood was saturated with moisture, and some of the old springs, if not still used, survive in local nomenclature.

It seems necessary here to say a few words about Lamb's Conduit, as the fact that it is mentioned above, and that Chapel Street runs out of the street thus named would otherwise cause confusion. Within a short distance to the north-east of the White Conduit, in the basement of No. 88, Lamb's Conduit Street, there still exists a bath or reservoir, some 14 feet in length by 9 feet in width, 4 feet deep, and lined with tiles. Mr. Mann states that investigation of this was recently made, and the accumulated rubbish partly cleared, when water was found to be still rising, and, careful notes having been taken of the size and construction, it is on the authority of the Trustees of the Rugby Estate to be covered with a concrete floor. This seems to have been the source which, in later times at least, supplied the "Water Conduit at Oldborne (Holborn) Cross," built, as Stow tells us, by "William Lamb, gentleman and clothworker, in the year 1577." It was rebuilt in 1736, and taken down in 1746, but an attempt seems to have been then made to preserve the water for local use, as may be learnt from a notice gradually becoming obliterated, on the stone lintel of a bricked-up recess, supported by stone jambs and built into the house No. 86 on its south side, in the passage called Long Yard. The notice runs as follows: "Lamb's Conduit is the property of the City of London. This Pump is erected for the benefit of the Publick." It will be observed that Lamb's Conduit was entirely independent of the Grey Friars' water system, and much later in date. Their sources, however, were close together, and in each case the water was conveyed along Holborn by a leaden pipe.

Before concluding this paper it will be necessary to say a few words about two plans which help to illustrate it. The first of these (fig. 1), taken from a manuscript in the British Museum, might have been perhaps more suitable for the illustration of the former paper as it represents ground, chiefly still open, in the immediate neighbourhood of the "Chimney Conduit," but this subject must be considered as a whole, the aim being to give as complete an account as possible of the Grey Friars'

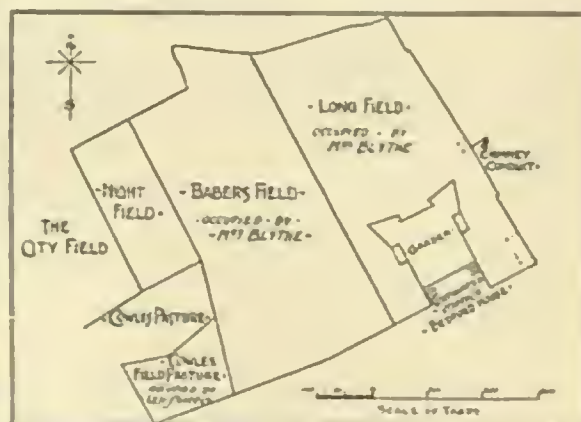


Fig. 1. Part of the Manor of Bloomsbury, showing the position of the Chimney Conduit in 1664-5.



water system. At the date of the British Museum plan, namely 1664-5, the fields to the east and south of it were called collectively Gray's Inn Fields, later Red Lyon Fields. Southampton or Bedford House at the south-east corner of the plan was built on the site of the old Manor House of Bloomsbury, and latterly occupied all the north side of Bloomsbury Square. It was destroyed in 1800, Elizabeth Lady Holland, in her journal for May of that year (lately published) says "Bedford House is pulling down and the Duke is erecting a new square." On the east or right hand side of the plan is the "Chimney Conduit," the "Long Field" to the west of it "in the occupation of Mrs. Blythe" covers part at least of the site of Russell Square, to which access can now be obtained through a doorway in the west wall of the garden at the back of No. 20, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, still containing the old conduit-head.\*

The plan of 1676 (Plate XLVI.) showing the whole water system of Christ's Hospital has quite recently been found and is most interesting. It will be observed that from Christ's Hospital to the south corner of Leather Lane the pipe runs as described by the Grey Friars' chronieler, but instead of being taken up Leather Lane it continues further west along Holborn and then goes up Gray's Inn Lane. The so-called cesperills, which are marked along the plan at rather frequent intervals, the distances between them being given, were probably of the nature of settling tanks for purifying the water. They would also perhaps have been useful for ascertaining the position of defects in the pipe, and thus lessening the difficulty of repairing it. Similar arrangements are shown on the famous vellum plan of the water system of the Charterhouse, of which Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has made special study.<sup>b</sup> The circles joined by lines with the site of the chimney conduit probably indicate springs connected with it. Another valuable feature of the plan now reproduced is the information it gives about the buildings of Christ's Hospital. It will be observed that the "Conduit yard" was north-west of the great eloister. The old city wall with its bastions is shown very distinctly. We tender our hearty thanks to the authorities of Christ's Hospital, and especially to Mr. Franks and to Mr. Lempriere, for their kindness in giving facilities for the study of the various manuscript books in their possession and also for allowing this important and unique plan to be reproduced.

\* This house was sold by auction for £2,610 in June, 1909.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, lviii. 293-312. In his paper Mr. Hope explains the word "cesperill," which in some Christ's Hospital minutes is corrupted into "ces-pools," giving a totally wrong impression. This word is a misspelling of "suspirl," a vent or breathing hole to avoid the danger of the pipe being burst by the pressure of air or water, the late Latin equivalent being *cuspéraculum*.







SILVER BOWL AND COVER OF THE NINTH OR TENTH CENTURY (1.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.

XI.—*On a Silver Bowl and Cover of the Ninth or Tenth Century.*

*By O. M. DALTON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

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Read 11th February, 1909.

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THE silver vessel here illustrated (Plate XLVII.) was acquired many years ago by Sir A. W. Franks, and at his death passed by bequest to the British Museum. It is a deep bowl, with a cover made to be lifted by a projecting handle in the form of a quatrefoil upon a vertical stem, the height, without the cover, being  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The whole of the exterior both of bowl and cover is richly decorated with designs in relief. Four equidistant panels each containing a large quatrefoil are enclosed by vine stems, with occasional bunches of grapes at which birds are pecking; in the interspaces between the panels the stems unite to form a lozenge containing a quatrefoil of smaller dimensions. Wherever two stems meet they are bound by collar-like bands, which are doubtless conventionalized representations of closely-twining tendrils. The design thus forms a continuous pattern well adapted to the sides of a vessel; it is repeated on a smaller scale upon the cover. The grapes, the leaves, and the bodies of the birds are all inlaid with niello. The ground throughout is gilded, as is the interior of the bowl. The bottom has been rasped or filed on the exterior, though the interior remains in its original condition. It has been suggested that the bowl may once have had a foot.

The design and the form of this bowl alike point to the ninth or tenth century as the probable period of manufacture. It is said to have been obtained



in Spain, but its place of origin is more likely to have been north-western Europe, either in some part of the Frankish dominions or possibly in our own country. Some reasons may be advanced in support of these opinions.

Vine-scrolls of this character, developments of a well-known Early-Christian decorative design, perhaps originating in Syria, appear in the west of Europe at an early date; it is well known that the type is found upon the Northumbrian high crosses of the seventh or eighth centuries. But the closest parallels to the design upon this silver vessel are to be found in Carolingian art, and in the Anglo-Saxon art of the south of England.

In the Sacramentary of Drogo, son of Charlemagne, the vine-motive is treated much in this way; there is the same impression of luxuriant growth, and the characteristic lozenge-shaped figure formed by the stems in the interspaces is a conspicuous feature.<sup>a</sup> The same luxuriant vine-foliage recurs upon the early ivory diptych in the treasury at St. Gall, ascribed to the monk Tutilo, who flourished towards the year A.D. 900.<sup>b</sup> Here the lozenge-arrangement of the interspaces has become the principal design of a rectangular panel of ornament, while the more important quatrefoil has been rejected. We find the same thing on the back of the bronze seal of Ælfrie of Hampshire (d. A.D. 1016) in the British Museum,<sup>c</sup> and also upon Anglo-Saxon coins. Variants appear at a rather later period in the art of different countries, as in a mosaic pavement of the tenth-eleventh century in St. Mark's at Venice, and in illuminated MSS. of the twelfth century.<sup>d</sup> The general disposition of the vine-scrolls resembles that found upon a group of ivory vases, the date of which lies between the sixth and tenth centuries; one of them is in the British Museum, another at South Kensington.<sup>e</sup> Several of these vessels are similar in form to the silver bowl, and one or two of them have lids; it is probable that they themselves reproduce the decoration of earlier silver vessels. In these ivory examples the

<sup>a</sup> Comte A. de Bastard, *Peintures des Manuscrits*, Part V. 132 (British Museum Copy). The connection of Carolingian MSS. with the Early-Christian art of Syria is well established.

<sup>b</sup> E. Molinier, *Histoire des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, vol. i. *Ivoires*, pl. x.; A. Maskell, *Ivoires*, pl. xx.

<sup>c</sup> *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, i. 398.

<sup>d</sup> C. Errard and A. Gayet, *L'art byzantin*, i. *Venise*, pl. xix.; MS. of Beatus on the Apocalypse in the British Museum, fol. 7 b (Add. MS. 11695).

<sup>e</sup> British Museum, *Catalogue of Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era*, No. 15; A. Maskell, *Ivoires*, pl. xvi.

vines are shown diverging from diminutive vases replaced at equidistant points on the base-line, and the due subordination of the parts to the whole design is never forgotten.

The evidence seems to point to the ninth rather than to the tenth century as the date of this silver bowl. The ornament retains its logical disposition; sections of it which are in themselves of secondary importance do not receive undue preponderance. The birds pecking at the grapes, which are generally found in early specimens of such designs, but often drop out in the later, are still to be seen amidst the foliage. The form of the bowl is also early. It is similar to that of other silver nielloed bowls of about the ninth century found in Laaland, Zeeland, and Jutland, with decoration of panels containing beasts and foliate designs, the whole upon a ground of animal interlacings of northern character.<sup>a</sup> An example from nearer home is the bowl found in 1815, with coins of Cnut, at Halton Moor, near Lancaster, now also in the British Museum. The shape of this example approximates to that here shown, and the gilding is of the same pale colour; but the finish is superior, and the character of the ornament is later. It consists of animals drawn with much spirit within circular medallions, the interspaces, borders, and base being filled with formal foliage.<sup>b</sup>

It has been already suggested that this rare and interesting silver vessel was probably made in north-western Europe. The evidence of the ornament seems to point either to a Frankish or an English origin, and perhaps more definitely to the former. The vine-scrolls are certainly of a Carolingian type, and elaborate niello was used by silversmiths upon the Continent as early as A.D. 775, the approximate date of the chalice offered by Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, to the church of Kremsmünster.<sup>c</sup> But we may recall the high reputation of our own countrymen as goldsmiths at this period, proved not only by surviving examples of their art, such as the royal finger-rings in the British Museum, but also by the mention of Anglo-Saxon work in the *Liber Pontificalis*. The popes ordered silver from Anglo-Saxons, and among the objects due to their skill were lamps (*gabata*), some with lions, gryphons, etc. upon them, recalling the ornament of the Halton bowl; there is

<sup>a</sup> *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1872-1877, pp. 374-5.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, xviii. 199-202. The Halton Bowl is much less massive than the present example.

<sup>c</sup> Nesbitt and Thompson, *Vetusta Monumenta*, 1885, p. 9; J. H. von Hefner Alteneck, *Trachten Kunstwerke und Geräthschaften*, pl. viii.



also particular mention of niello, in the use of which the English certainly excelled.\* King Egbert (d. A.D. 858) on his visit to Rome is stated to have brought with him silver vessels from his own country, and the date is not very far from that to which our vessel may be assigned. If therefore anyone should prefer to call the bowl English, it might be difficult to disprove the claim.

\* S. Beissel, *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* IX. 1896, pp. 364 ff. It may be recalled that there was an Anglo-Saxon colony in Rome from the first half of the eighth century, established in the neighbourhood of the Vatican. Niello had been freely used on the ornaments of the pagan Anglo-Saxons.

XII.—*Cup-and-Ring Carvings: Some Remarks on their Classification, and a new Suggestion as to their Origin and Meaning.* By W. PALEY BAILDON, Esq., F.S.A.

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Read 25th March, 1909.

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THE curious carvings to which the name "Cup-and-Ring" has been applied are very widely distributed over the globe. They are found in the British Islands, France, Scandinavia, and other parts of Europe, and have been noted in India and in Fiji.\* They occur on natural rock surfaces, on boulders *in situ*, on standing stones, on cromlechs, on detached stones forming parts of chambered cairns, cist or urn covers, or built into Pictish weems or brochs; and also on grave-stones in Christian churchyards, and on the walls of churches themselves.

Who carved them, when, and why, has been a puzzle ever since they were first noted; a good deal has been written about them, and not a little acrimony evolved in the process.

I feel that it is presumptuous of me to write on these carvings, considering that my knowledge of them is derived almost entirely from the works of others, and I have not made a special study of prehistoric antiquities. But the authorities who have written on them are so vague as to period and object, where they express any opinion at all, that a humble student may be excused for venturing on a path of his own, in the absence of angelic leadership.

These notes are founded mainly on the works of Tate, Simpson, and Romilly Allen. Tate's work, *The Ancient British Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland*

\* Since the above was written, Dr. Martin, F.S.A., has called my attention to the fact that they are also found in Thibet. See Percival Landon, *Lhasa* (1905), ii. 162, 163.



and the Eastern Borders, was published in 1865;\* Simpson's work, *On Ancient Sculpturings of Cups and Concentric Rings, &c.*, appeared in 1867 as an Appendix to volume vi. of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*; Romilly Allen had several papers in the same *Proceedings* in 1881 and 1882, two in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* in 1881 and 1882, and one in *The Reliquary* in 1896. There are other papers in the proceedings of various learned societies, many of which I have consulted.

I shall quote largely from these various authorities (indeed this paper consists principally of quotations) for two reasons: first, because, as I have already stated, I cannot myself speak with authority, and secondly, because I hope to show that my suggested object of these carvings is supported by remarks made by all three of the above-mentioned authors. Indeed, it was by putting together and comparing the hints thrown out by them, that I came to the conclusions I am about to lay before you.

#### 1. CLASSIFICATION.

Tate, while giving an elaborate analysis of characteristic figures, makes no attempt to differentiate the types. Simpson does this, but, as I venture to think, not on sound lines; he goes on minute differences rather than on broad similarities. I suggest the following classification :

1. Cups without rings,<sup>b</sup> not connected by grooves.
2. Cups without rings, connected by grooves.
3. Cups without rings, grouped together within grooves.
4. Cups with rings, not connected by grooves.
5. Cups with rings, connected by grooves.
6. Spirals, swastikas, triskeles, and other rare forms.

Many minor variations occur, and some that appear to be freaks, but nearly all the principal examples known will readily fall into one or other of the above six types, several of which, however, may occur on one stone. The following examples of characteristic specimens of each type will be found in the above-mentioned works of Tate, Simpson, and Allen.

\* Reprinted from *The Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, v.

<sup>b</sup> I retain the term "rings" as being well established, but many of the grooves surrounding the cups take other than circular forms.

*Type 1.—Cups without rings, not connected by grooves.*

These appear on a large majority of the stones in conjunction with other forms; but in the first place let us consider those cases where detached cups only are found. Examples: Tate, none; Simpson, plates 4 (figs. 2, 3), 8 (figs. 1, 2, 3), 9 (fig. 1), 10 (figs. 3, 4), 11 (figs. 4, 6), 12 (fig. 5), 17 (fig. 1), 18 (fig. 3), 31 (fig. 1); Allen, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* 1881, p. 82; *ibid.* 1882, pp. 81, 88, 94, 96, 97, 98, 100, 102, 103, 109, 116. A point to be noted is that the majority of these are standing stones, or, as Simpson calls them, "obelisks," either isolated or near others. One or two stones are known which have a number of small holes close together, running in a straight line across or around them. Examples: Tate, plate 9 (fig. 2); Simpson, plates 9 (fig. 1), 17 (fig. 1), 25 (fig. 2); Allen, 1882, p. 81. These appear to me to have been made with a view of splitting the stone,\* and though Mr. Allen scouts this idea, I think it is safer to leave these stones out of the discussion, though I shall have to refer to the possibility of splitting later on.

Two other classes of stones may be mentioned here. In each of these the unringed cups constitute the bulk of the carving, but in one class a few cups are connected by grooves, and in the other surrounded by one or more rings; the former class seem mostly on flat surfaces, and the latter on upright stones. Examples: (1) connecting grooves, Tate, none; Simpson, plates 9 (fig. 2), 14 (fig. 2), 26 (fig. 4); Allen, 1881, pp. 84, 86, 89; 1882, pp. 109, 120; (2) cups with rings, Tate, plate 2 (fig. 4); Simpson, plates 3, 4 (fig. 1), 6 (fig. 1), 17 (figs. 2, 3), 18 (fig. 2); Allen, 1882, pp. 86, 99, 115, 116; Reliquary, p. 68. On some of these the number of cups is considerable. Allen figures one with 158 cups, another with 80, and another with 73. They are generally scattered promiscuously over the surface, without design or arrangement discernible to the modern eye.

*Type 2.—Cups without rings, connected by grooves.*

These are mostly found on stones having no ringed cups. Two or more cups may be connected, and the groove sometimes runs across or nearly across

\* This method may be seen in use to-day in almost any quarry.



the stone (*see* Simpson, plates 9, 14, 26), Allen (1881, pp. 86, 89; 1882, pp. 85, 92, 113). I am not aware of any example where this type occurs alone, that is, where all the cups are unringed and all connected.

*Type 3.—Cups without rings, grouped together within grooves.*

This is a much more interesting class than either of the foregoing, and presents a very great number of different patterns, hardly any two being at all alike. For good examples, *see* Tate, plates 2 (fig. 1, which also has rings), 6; Simpson, plates 2 (figs. 5, 6, 15); the Ilkley stones figured in *The Reliquary*.

We may note here that there is no corresponding type with the ringed cups, which seem never to be found grouped together within a common inclosure.

*Type 4.—Cups with rings, not connected by grooves.*

Many examples will be found in the works cited; they are generally accompanied by unringed cups, and are most frequent on standing stones. On small detached stones, such as cist or urn covers, the ringed cups are often found by themselves, and it is a curious fact that many of these stones appear to have been broken to fit them for their purpose. Detached ringed cups are very frequently found on stones of the next type.

An intermediate type between this and the next is formed by ringed cups having a radial groove, but not connected with other cups. These are found on very many stones in various parts.

*Type 5.—Cups with rings, connected by grooves.*

Examples: Tate, plates 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11; Simpson, plates 5, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27; Allen, *Reliquary* (1896), pp. 69, 72, 73, 74, 75.

This is the most interesting class, and presents an extraordinary number of variations on the same theme. The number of rings is sometimes as many as eight or nine, and the outermost may be three feet or more in diameter. In many of these the rings are not complete, but stop short of a curved or straight groove

leading from the central cup. The method of conjoining, also, is very varied; the circles may intersect or coalesce, or may be joined in groups by the radial grooves.

Another variety seems to be peculiar to Rumbold's Moor and the neighbourhood of Ilkley; this may be called the ladder pattern. Here, the cups and rings are connected together by double grooves having cross pieces, like the rungs of a ladder. Three such stones have been found near Ilkley, and I cannot ascertain that this variety occurs anywhere else.

*Type 6.—Spirals, swastikas, triskeles, and other rare forms.*

*Spirals*: Tate, plate 8 (fig. 3); Simpson, plates 2 (fig. 3), 5, 6, 13, 16, 19, 23, 26.

*Swastikas*: Tate, plate 5 (fig. 3) (doubtful); *Reliquary*, 1896, pp. 72, 76, 77.

*Triskeles*: Simpson, plates 2 (fig. 10), 23.

*Freaks*: Tate, plate 11 (figs. 10, 11); Simpson, plates 2 (figs. 9, 11), 20.

These are all rare forms, which can, I think, be explained apart from the commoner designs.

## 2. ORIGIN AND MEANING.

To begin with, I must mention the theories advanced by Tate (1865), Simpson (1867), and Allen (1881-2 and 1896); you will find these quotations, I hope, not uninteresting, and you will note how the writers who are most severe against unsupported guesses are the most prone to indulge in that fascinating pastime themselves.

*Tate.*

“When the earliest public notices were given of the Northumbrian inscriptions, they were supposed to be plans of camps. Mr. Greenwell suggested this view, Dr. Johnston echoed it, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson and others adopted it. In 1853 I proposed a different view, and advocated the notion that they were symbolical figures, representing religious thoughts, and remarked



“ ‘I cannot regard them as the amusements of an idle soldiery, nor as plans of camps, nor as exercises of incipient engineers; for their wide distribution, and, notwithstanding differences in detail, their family resemblance prove that they had a common origin, and indicate a symbolical meaning representing some popular thought; and though I cannot spell the rude lettering, I fancy, since they are associated with the last remains of Celtic heroes and sages, they tell of the faith and hope of the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain.’ ”<sup>a</sup>

“ Mr. Greenwell in 1868 adopts a similar view. ‘It cannot, I think,’ he says, ‘be questioned that their import is religious.’ ”<sup>b</sup> Sir Gardner Wilkinson in 1859 says, ‘I am not disposed to maintain the opinion which at first suggested itself to me, that they related to the circular camps, and certain dispositions connected with them.’ ”<sup>c</sup> The camp fancy may therefore be considered abandoned; indeed the wonder is that it should ever have been entertained, for few indeed of the figures represent the arrangements of a camp; both are more or less circular, but the resemblance ends there. Strange indeed would it have been, if the people of this ancient period had from one end of the country to the other been employed in drawing entrenchments; Dod Law, where they are so numerous, must have been the site of a military college. . . . A glance over the plates of figures will discover numbers of them, which by no stretch, even of the wildest imagination, can be likened to camps.

“ Though of late years there have been many speculative views put forth as to the meaning of these symbols, it is doubtful whether any advance has been made on the general views proposed by me in 1852. The numerous additional facts observed confirm, I think, the conclusions—first, that these inscriptions have been made by the Celtic race occupying Britain many centuries before the Christian era; and second, that the figures are symbolical—most probably of religious ideas. Look at the extent of their distribution, from one extremity of Britain to the other, and even into Ireland, and say, what could induce tribes, living hundreds of miles apart and even separated by the sea, to use precisely the same symbols, save to express some religious sentiments or to aid in the performance of some superstitious rites.”<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, iii. 130.

<sup>b</sup> *Transactions of the Tyneside Club*, vi. 21.

<sup>c</sup> *On Rock-basins in Dartmoor*, 117.

<sup>d</sup> Tate, *op. cit.* 38, 39.

After a short description of the religion of the Druids, Tate continues: "Altars they would have whereon to perform their sacrifices, symbolic representations of their divinities and of the doctrines they taught, . . . and figures, too, by which to perform their incantations and magical rites. Nothing remains so likely to have served these purposes as the inscribed rocks; and if so used, they would be regarded by the people as sacred stones; and probably enough be themselves objects of worship."\*

Tate goes on to suggest other uses by the Druids for these sacred stones. Thus, some of the figures may be "hieroglyphics of the gods to whom they were dedicated," or symbols representing philosophical views on the motion of the heavenly bodies, or "possibly the grooves passing from the centre of one system of circles to another might symbolise the passage of a soul from one state of being into another and a higher state," and that "one of the chief uses of these sacred stones was for magic and necromancy." He disarms criticism by adding that he is sensible of "wandering into the regions of speculation, or it may be of fancy." I agree.

"These inscriptions appear to have served another purpose, in connection with the dead. . . . Their use for the dead was, I think, only partial and secondary; and arose out of the sacred import of the symbols. The medieval Christian, as he was dying, gazed with hopeful earnestness on the cross as the symbol of his salvation, and had it placed over his tomb. . . . And so, as the ancient Briton was laid in his tomb with his weapon and his earthen cup at his side, he might also be supposed to gaze on the sacred concentric circles, as symbolising his hope of immortality.

"The Rev. William Procter of Doddington carried this view much further, and considers that the incised blocks are monumental inscriptions. . . .

"‘I am,’ he says, ‘decidedly of opinion that they are all monumental inscriptions in memory of departed friends whose remains had been deposited near them. The oldest monuments in our churchyards bear no verbal inscriptions; and it is not likely that these far more ancient monuments aimed at verbal inscriptions. As in our old churchyard monuments, the sword, the shears, and the cross are emblematical of the sex, profession, and faith of the departed, so it is pleasing to think that the prevailing figure of the circle in these engravings in the rocks

\* Tate, *op. cit.* 41.



may have been designed to symbolise the immortality of the soul. Or the central dot may indicate the individual deceased, the surroundings have reference to his family or temporal circumstances, and the tract from the centre through them may indicate his exit from this round world and its employments.' " <sup>a</sup>

I cannot withhold a tribute to the courage of a writer who, in the course of a few pages, denounces the ground-plan theory as "fanciful," and quotes the above extraordinary suggestions with apparent approval.

"The invariable association of these inscriptions with ancient British forts, oppida, villages, and sepulchres, is evidence of all having been the work of the people who dwelt in these villages and were buried in these tombs. The proof has been cumulative; and it amounts to a demonstration when we observe at Ford West Field, at Black Heddon, at Craigie Hill, at Lochgilphead, and at Kerry, typical symbols inscribed on the covers and side stones of ancient British cists; for these sculptures could not have been of later age than the interments; they may have been earlier, as they might have been quarried from a sacred inscribed stone in the neighbourhood, and placed over or in the cist to give a sanctity to the resting place of the dead. These inscriptions, therefore, are pre-Roman, and may date backwards not less than 2,000 years, and I am inclined to believe some 500 or 1,000 years more; because the relics of the period indicate a low degree of civilisation, and would carry us back to the early immigration of Celts into Britain." <sup>b</sup>

*Simpson.*

Simpson was inclined to believe that these carvings were merely ornamental. "Without attempting to solve the mystery connected with these archaic lapidary cup and ring cuttings, I would venture to remark that there is one use for which some of these olden stone carvings were in all probability devoted, namely, ornamentation. From the very earliest historic periods in the architecture of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, etc., down to our own day, circles, single or double, and spirals, have formed, under various modifications, perhaps the most common fundamental types of lapidary decoration. In prehistoric times the same taste for circular sculpturings, however rough and rude, seems to have swayed the

<sup>a</sup> Tate, *op. cit.* 42, 43.

<sup>b</sup> Tate, *op. cit.* 35.

mind of archaic man. This observation as to the probable ornamental origin of our cup and ring carvings holds, in my opinion, far more strongly in respect to some antique stone cuttings in Ireland and in Brittany than to the ruder and simpler forms that I have described as existing in Scotland and England.”<sup>a</sup>

This quotation sufficiently illustrates Simpson’s view on the ornament theory, and he next considers “their possibly religious character.” In the course of his remarks under this heading, there is a passage which, while not exactly affording a clue, suggested a line of investigation which has resulted in this paper. After commenting on the simplicity of the British stones as compared with those of Ireland and Brittany, he proceeds: “At the same time these ancient rock-cuttings in Scotland and England present indisputably, wherever they occur, the same archaic ‘handwriting on the wall,’—they are everywhere so wonderfully similar in their type of art,—so nearly and entirely like to each other in all localities in their general artistic conception and details, as to prove that they originated in some fixed community of objects or ideas among those that cut and formed them, whether their origin was ornamental, or symbolic, or both. But whatever else was their object, that they were emblems or symbols connected in some way with the religious thoughts and doctrines of those that carved them, appears to me to be rendered probable, at least, by the position and circumstances in which we occasionally find them placed. For in several instances we have seen that they are engraved on the outer or inner surface of the stone lids of the ancient kistvaen and mortuary urn. The remains of the dead which occupied these cists and urns were covered over with stones carved with these rude concentric circles, apparently just as afterwards—in early Christian times—they were covered with cut emblems of the cross placed in the same position. Man has ever conjoined together things sacred and things sepulchral,—for the innate dread of death and the grave has ever led him, in ancient as in modern times, to invest his burial rites and customs with the characters and emblems of his religious creed.”<sup>b</sup>

*Romilly Allen.*

“After seeing several hundreds of these stones in England and Scotland, I have been forcibly struck by two points: 1st, the absence of any definite arrangement of any kind in the positions of the cups; and 2nd, the continual

<sup>a</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1864-5, Appendix, 102.

<sup>b</sup> Simpson, *op. cit.* 104.



recurrence of the same monotonous figures of cups, rings, and grooves, repeated hundreds of times with hardly any variation of any kind, or tendency to develop into more ornamental forms. The absence of appearance of design in the arrangement of the cups might be accounted for by supposing that they were executed one by one, at different times, either by the same or different individuals. With regard to no advance being made beyond the cup, ring, and groove, I think it points to what was before suggested, *i.e.* that they were either a well recognised symbol frequently repeated, or that the shape of the cup, ring, and groove adapted itself specially to some ceremonial use.\*

"From the fact of cup-markings being found in so many instances directly associated with sepulchral remains, I think it may fairly be inferred that they are connected in some way or other with funeral rites, either as sacred emblems or for actual use in holding small offerings or libations. I am aware, however, that the fact of their being found occasionally on vertical surfaces is rather against the latter assumption. The connecting grooves are suggestive of channels for carrying of liquids." <sup>b</sup>

Romilly Allen took a special interest in the cup-and-ring stones at Ilkley, and wrote three articles on them, two in the *British Archaeological Journal* (1881 and 1882) and the third in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist* (ii. 65). In the latter paper he expressed his views as to their date and meaning, as shown by the following quotations: "If, as seems highly probable, the cup-and-ring markings have a religious significance, it is evident that the immediate neighbourhood of Ilkley was considered for some reason or other to be a peculiarly sacred spot in the eyes of the ancient inhabitants of this part of Yorkshire."<sup>c</sup> After describing the Ilkley stones, and dismissing the suggestions that the markings are either natural or the work of some idle shepherds, he proceeds: "Equally futile are mere guesses quite unsupported by facts, such as that these sculptures are maps of the stars or of prehistoric villages, a rude sort of picture writing, or for playing some kind of game. All archaeologists who have given the matter serious consideration agree that the cup-and-ring markings have a symbolic origin, otherwise it is difficult to account for the monotonous repetition of the same figure (not used decoratively, except in rare instances), and for its occurrence over so wide a geographical area. The irregularity of the arrangement of the cups and rings on the slabs and rock surfaces is possibly due to their

\* *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxviii. 163.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, ii. 67.

having been carved by several different persons at different times, instead of having been designed and executed by a single individual. The cup-marked stones on Rombald's Moor are in many cases near ancient tracks across the high ground, and there may be some analogy between the practice of carving these symbols and that of leaving rags on the bushes for votive offerings, as is done in Corea and Persia when going over a mountain pass, in order to propitiate the spirit of the mountain.\* That the symbols are religious seems probable because they are found so frequently associated with sepulchral remains, such as megalithic circles, menhirs, chambered cairns, and stone cists, and often on the cover stones of cinerary urns. The character of the localities where the sculptured rock surfaces and boulders are found (generally in lofty situations on the borderland between the cultivated valleys and the barren hill country) are just such as would be chosen by a pagan people for what are called 'high places' in the Bible."

We need not follow Mr. Allen further. The remainder of his paper is taken up by an attempt to show an analogy between the British cup-and-ring marks and the well-known type of ship-carvings in Sweden. These latter have, to my mind, no possible bearing on the subject. They are pictures of ships, men, horses, dogs, weapons, and the like, rude in design and rough in execution, but very far removed from the primitive designs we are now considering.

On the strength of this analogy, Allen was led to believe that all cup-and-ring carvings were of the Bronze Age. There, I think, he is wrong, and I believe that the earlier ones were Neolithic. Except in very rare cases the characteristic ornament of the Bronze Age is wanting, while the presence of these carvings in connection with Bronze Age interments is capable of another explanation, namely, that of adoption. On this point the following quotation from Simpson will illustrate what I mean, and it will be noticed that he is in favour of a very early date. Simpson proved by actual experiment the possibility of cutting grooves and rings on hard Aberdeen granite, with a flint chisel and a wooden mallet."

"The very simplicity of the cup and circle forms is one strong reason for our regarding these types of sculpture as the most archaic stone carvings that

\* Mr. Allen, when writing this, must surely have forgotten his strictures on "mere guesses quite unsupported by facts."

<sup>b</sup> Again the author's memory is at fault. On a previous page (67) he says: "They (the cup-and-ring marked stones) are found neither in the bottom of the valley of the Wharfe nor on the highest parts of Rumbold's Moor, but between the 600 feet and 1,100 feet contour lines." The highest point of Rumbold's Moor, due south of Ilkley, is 1,323 feet above sea-level.

<sup>c</sup> *Op. cit.* 122.



have been left to us. When once begun such types of lapidary carving and ornamentation would, for the same reason, be in all likelihood readily transmitted down to future generations—and perhaps to races even—that followed long after those who first engraved them on our stones and rocks. Possibly their sacred symbolisation—if they were sacred—contributed to the same end; for forms and customs that were originally religious observances often persist through very long ages after their primary religious character is utterly forgotten, and even where the type of religion has been totally changed.”\*

The Bronze Age folk certainly used cup-and-ring marked stones, but they got them for the most part (if I may be allowed the expression) second-hand. For this curious fact is noticed by Simpson, and is borne out by other writers: that when a cup-and-ring stone has been used to cover a kistvaen or mortuary urn, it very frequently shows signs of having been broken or reduced in size (p. 104).

Simpson points out that although cup-and-ring stones upon rocks *in situ* have usually been found (in Northumberland) either within or near the walls of archaic camps or towns, yet none have been found in immediate connection with the stones of their hut foundations, circles, and pits. “They have been discovered, however, upon the stones of single human dwellings, probably equally old. Among the most antique types of artificial human habitations in this country [Scotland] are our underground houses or ‘weems.’ I have already adduced instances of one or two of these underground weems having, in their structure, stones sculptured with rude cups and rings, etc. The origin and general age of this type of artificial human dwelling we know not, though the rude materials and relics occasionally found within them prove the earlier forms of them to be very ancient. But some facts show that the ring-and-cup cuttings were as old or older than the date of the building of the most ancient type of these weems; for in one or two archaic earth-dwellings of this kind, blocks of stone, carved with ring-and-cup cuttings, have been discovered both in the foundations and roof of the weems, where they had apparently been introduced and used after serving other functions as sculptured stones; and possibly at so advanced a date from the time of their carving that all reverence for the sculptures themselves had died out in the minds of the generation who used them as simple building material. The edges, however, of the rings and cups upon the large stone from the weem at Letham Grange are still so sharp as to show that the block had not been greatly

\* Simpson, *op. cit.* 105.

exposed and weathered before it was buried in the foundation of this underground house. Could the builder of this weem have cut these markings upon the stone, with the hope of thus investing it with any sacred and protective character, before he placed it in the foundation of his dwelling?"\*

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1882, p. 122, *et seq.*, Allen gives a most useful list of cup-and-ring marked stones in Scotland, England, Wales, Isle of Man, Ireland, France, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. He mentions 348 stones then known in the United Kingdom; of these 101 are on boulders *in situ*, 65 are on stone circles, menhirs, and cromlechs, 57 on natural rock surfaces, 43 on cairns, and only 20 on the covers of kists or urns. In Scotland alone, apparently, are any found in Christian churchyards, and of these there are 30. The small number found in connection with undoubted Bronze Age interments, coupled with the fact, already stated, that many of these show signs of having been broken from larger stones, affords a fair and, I think, a strong argument that the Bronze Age people adopted the cult from an earlier race.

Having now dealt with the various explanations suggested by previous writers, I come to my own.

To begin with, it seems to me that any theory, if it is to be at all satisfactory, must account for two facts: (1) the wide-spread distribution of carvings of this class in many parts of the world, and (2) the constant repetition of similar or nearly identical marks on the same stone or in the same neighbourhood. No theory can be considered tenable which fails on either of these points.

Briefly then, my suggestion is that these cup-and-rings carvings were made for "ghost-houses," and what these were will appear in due course. But before giving a detailed explanation, I must remind you of certain facts in primitive religions which have led me to this idea.

If I am right in supposing that the earliest of these carvings are of the Neolithic period, it is clear that we must look to some very primitive notion, common to many savage tribes of recent date. Now the root-idea of most primitive religions (and, indeed, Spencer and others go so far as to say of all supernatural religions) is that of the ghost. I use this word advisedly in preference to either "soul" or "spirit," for both these words have acquired special meanings with regard to Christianity, which are very far removed from any conception possible to the mind of savage man. The idea of an immortal

\* Simpson, *op. cit.* 109, 110.



soul, in our sense, has very little, if anything, in common with the primitive ghost.

The facts and statements that immediately follow are derived from Lord Avebury's *Prehistoric Times*, Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, and Mr. E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*. I have no doubt others could easily be found, but in those three works are collected a large number of facts sufficiently illustrating the point I wish to make.

Primitive man all over the world believed that the ghost of a deceased person continued to live a ghostly existence; at any rate for a time. The ghost was not immortal, however, for it could be killed and eaten by another ghost, and in most cases seems to have faded out gradually, or gone to the happy hunting grounds or elsewhere and ceased to haunt its former resorts. But until that remote event happened, the ghost was a very serious consideration to the living, for it was always thought of as close at hand, haunting its old home, lingering near the place of burial, or wandering about the neighbourhood.<sup>a</sup>

As Tylor says: "The doctrine that ghost-souls of the dead hover among the living is indeed rooted in the lowest levels of savage culture, extends through barbaric life almost without a break, and survives largely and deeply in the midst of civilization."<sup>b</sup>

The ghosts might be friendly or otherwise, but they were always a source of superstitious dread. The family ghost had to be propitiated from time to time by food and other offerings, in order to prevent his showing any animosity, while the ghost of an enemy was a very serious matter; and every death, whether of friend or enemy, added another to the many ghosts of those who had died before. The ghost can bring plague and sickness, cause accidents or even death, and generally make itself very disagreeable. The ghosts of those dying a violent or untimely death, of those left unburied, or killed in battle and eaten, were especially malignant.<sup>c</sup>

A dread of injury by the spirits of the dead has been very commonly felt by many savage and semi-civilized peoples; nor, indeed, is such fear unknown in our own times, and even amongst ourselves; and it may well be that, by means of this symbolic figure (enclosing circles round barrows), it was thought this danger might be averted, and the dead kept safe within the tomb.<sup>d</sup>

The attempt to propitiate the dead in one way or other, with the view of

<sup>a</sup> Spencer, *op. cit.* 234.

<sup>b</sup> Tylor, ii. 21.

<sup>c</sup> Tylor, ii. 24.

<sup>d</sup> Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 8.

averting their displeasure and warding off the danger of their inflicting injury, might be illustrated very fully and from many sources in the history of almost every people and religion.\*

Many and weird were the devices for dealing with the ghost. Among some tribes the corpse was securely sewn up in an ox-hide in a sitting posture, among others the limbs were all tied fast together (which probably explains the crouching position of skeletons often found in our barrows), in each case to prevent the ghost from troubling the living.<sup>b</sup> In other cases the corpse was mutilated with the same object, a practice surviving almost to our own time in the case of suicides. The Australians, on burying a dead enemy, carefully cut off the right thumb, to prevent his throwing a ghostly spear.<sup>c</sup> For the ghost, just as he consumed ghostly food, could use ghostly weapons, and hence arose the practice of burying his weapons with the corpse. Everything, inanimate, as well as animate, had its ghost, which was liberated by destruction, just as the man's or horse's or dog's ghost was by death.

It was this same idea of the ghosts of things which led to the breaking of stone weapons when buried with the dead. These are sometimes found in considerable quantities. In one barrow in Brittany a large number of stone implements, some more than 18 inches long, were found, all of which were fractured. In the celebrated tumulus at Locmariaker, 104 broken stone hatchets were found, with two perfect ones.<sup>d</sup> Both stone and bronze weapons found in interments frequently show signs of having been burnt, doubtless with the same object, though mere burial may have been considered sufficient in other cases.

Wives were killed, and numerous slaves, in order to provide the ghost with proper attendance and dignity, and his horses and dogs were often buried with him.

The ghost also required a house to live in, and the most primitive of the burial practices is probably that where the dead man is simply buried in his own hut, a custom widely prevalent.<sup>e</sup> At one stage of culture the family continued to live on in the hut above the bones of the departed, but it is easy to see that this must have been attended with many inconveniences, even to a savage. Accordingly, we find that the next stage was to leave the possession of the hut to its dead inmate.

I say "the next stage," but that phrase requires a word of explanation.

\* Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 10.

\* Spencer, 212.

\* Spencer, 273.

<sup>b</sup> Spencer, 167, 168.

<sup>d</sup> Simpson, *op. cit.* 117.



Practically all our information on these subjects is derived from travellers who have recorded the customs of various peoples visited by them, and I am not aware of any evidence showing the progress of any given tribe from one set of ideas to another. But where we have a considerable number of varying customs, it is legitimate, I think, to try to arrange them in a sequence, and to show how one custom may pass into another, and I therefore deal with these burial practices in what appears to me to be their natural and reasonable evolution. I wish it to be clearly understood, however, that this arrangement is my own, and it is quite possible that others might arrange them differently.

Be this as it may, there are many instances of tribes where the dead are buried in their own huts, and the survivors proceed to build a new one, leaving the old one, with its contents, as a residence for the ghost. To such an extent was this custom practised, that instances are recorded where the majority of huts in a village were occupied solely by the dead. When this happened, it was not infrequent to abandon the village and remove to a new site; the old village was sometimes destroyed.<sup>a</sup>

The next stage, as I take it, was to bury the dead outside the village, and to destroy, generally by burning, the deceased's hut and utensils, so that the ghost might use the ghost of the hut and other things. Of this there are many examples. With some tribes the whole of the dead man's possessions were burnt, leaving his family with nothing but the site of the hut and any land that he might have. This must have given place to the next custom, which shows a distinct advance of thought, namely, instead of burning the actual hut, to build a special hut, which was sometimes burnt and sometimes left intact for the ghost's use. At the funeral of a king of Cochin China in 1849 two magnificent palaces of wood were constructed, with rich furnishings, in all things similar to the palace which the defunct monarch had inhabited. These were burned with great pomp.<sup>b</sup> Where these ghost-houses were not burned, they were constructed away from the village, sometimes on the beach or in some other remote place, and sometimes over the actual grave. Many of the Etruscan and Roman graves were covered with monuments resembling houses, which not improbably represent a survival of this idea. We thus get the conception of a ghost-village, a place set apart for the ghosts, who there ate, drank, fought, hunted, and lived their ghostly lives, with their wives and slaves. But they were not always willing to stay there, and might escape to trouble the living. We find the medicine-man weaving his uncanny

<sup>a</sup> Tylor, ii. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Tylor, i. 442.

spells to drive back any recalcitrant ghost to his own place. Fences of thorns and screens of network or pieces of cloth were used to keep the ghosts in the ghost-village. The Queensland aborigines had an annual ceremony, a sort of All Souls' Day, when they beat the air with sticks and had a mock fight, to scare away the ghosts of those who had died during the past year. Various devices were also used to puzzle the ghost, so that he should be unable to find his way to his old home. Thus, the Greenlanders carry a corpse out of his hut by the window instead of by the door, while the Hottentots and the Siamese break out an opening in the wall, and the corpse is carried several times round the hut and then to the grave by a circuitous road.

The next stage consists in making a miniature hut or model, instead of a real full-sized one. In China paper models were made of houses, furniture, boats, sedans, ladies-in-waiting and gentlemen pages, which were solemnly burned at the funeral. The Malagasy and certain West African tribes make a little "soul-hut" or "devil-house" over or near the grave. In early interments in Italy, Germany, and Denmark model houses of pottery are found; and I should like to suggest here (though it is not material to my argument) whether some of the so-called "incense-cups" found in many of our English interments may not be ghost-huts in the model of bee-hive dwellings.\* Once the idea is attained that a model does as well for a ghost as a real object it becomes applied to many things. As Professor Gowland told us some time ago, the Japanese placed images of men and animals of stone, clay, or wood by the corpse. Egyptian tombs are full of models of all kinds; models of weapons are sometimes found instead of the weapons themselves; the modern Esquimaux buries models of kajaks, spears, etc., with his dead. A sculptured stone from a tumulus in Brittany shows a whole armoury of weapons and a bee-hive hut, incised in stone, for the use of the ghost.

Size presents no difficulty. The Burmese stretch threads across streams for the ghosts to pass along; and the modern ghost, if we believe the stories, can enter through a key-hole, and then proceed to clank chains or move heavy furniture.

\* Since the above was written, Mr. Towry Whyte, F.S.A., has called my attention to a recent publication of The British School of Archaeology in Egypt, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, by Professor Flinders Petrie, 1907. About 150 "soul-houses" were found during the excavations at Rifeh, dating from the VIth, Xth, XIth, and XIIth Dynasties. They consist of clay models of actual houses, with couches, chairs, water-stands, offerings of food and drink, corn-grinders, etc. Professor Petrie states that these models were placed upon the surface of the ground over the grave; he suggests that "the initial motive for such dwellings may perhaps be seen in foreign influences." Illustrations of many of these are given.



Now I suggest that the cup-and-ring carvings are the equivalent of the miniature ghost-huts and hut-urns that I have just mentioned. Each cup would then represent a hut, while the rings would be stockades or banks around them. It may be objected that savage peoples in a time so remote as the Neolithic period would not have the knowledge or skill to produce ground plans. The answer is that these are not primarily or intentionally plans. The people who constructed circular huts with concentric stockades round them, such as can be seen to-day in many places, must have had the art to measure and mark out the site on the ground before beginning to build. A plan of this sort seems to me to be more easily comprehended than a perspective or an elevation. Many tribes address their dead at funerals, and beseech and exhort them as to their future conduct, and it requires no violent stretch of the imagination to suppose that the corpse was informed that the central cup was his own particular kraal, the space inclosed by the first ring was for his wives, the second ring for his bodyguard or household slaves, the third for his cattle, and so on, while the unringed cups would be for other slaves, children, and persons of no particular consequence. The greater the number of rings, the greater the chief, just as, among the North American Indians, the size of the tumulus showed the wealth and importance of the person commemorated.

My suggestion, if correct, will account for most of the difficulties hitherto pointed out with regard to these carvings. First, as I have already mentioned, for their wide distribution and monotonous repetition. On standing stones we generally find one cup with rings and numerous cups without rings; this would be for a chief and the many slaves who were killed to attend him in the ghost-world. The large rock surfaces covered with carvings, such as Routin Linn, I attribute to ghost-villages, where a new ghost-hut is made at each death. And the different methods of grouping I explain by differences in modes of constructing villages. Thus, we find the open village with stockaded huts, and unstockaded huts grouped within a common ring fence, such as a camp. The curious ladder-forms found at Ilkley would be made by a tribe who cultivated the hill sides in terraces; it is true that I do not know of any such terraces at Ilkley, but at Lindley, not far away, there is a very well marked series.

Another very curious feature which my theory accounts for, is illustrative of a factor in religious evolution by no means extinct. Just as the gentleman's dress of one generation becomes the servant's livery of the next, so the religious observances of one age become the superstitions of its successor. Such survivals are to-day as common and as meaningless as the buttons at the back of a man's

coat. I have pointed out that the slabs forming chambered-barrows and the coverings of burial urns are frequently inscribed with cup-and-ring marks, and that such slabs in most cases show signs of having been broken. You will remember also that several cup-and-ring stones have rows of small holes, suggestive of an attempt to split them. I think these two facts are co-related. If the Bronze Age people who made these kists and were buried in these urns had found that their predecessors attached great importance and reverence to these carvings, they would themselves use them, without necessarily understanding or accepting their original import.<sup>a</sup> The earlier Bronze folk may possibly have carved some, but later they would annex a stone already carved, and break and trim it for their own purposes, a suggestion already made by Tate. In view of this strange persistence, we are not surprised to find that a Roman sepulchral tablet found at Birrens in Annandale has a cup surrounded by two concentric rings cut in each of the two lower corners,<sup>b</sup> nor that a small central ring with two larger concentric ones is placed at the intersection of the arms of a cross on a sepulchral slab found at St. Peter's, Jersey.<sup>c</sup> Indeed, Romilly Allen records in 1882 that no less than thirty of these carvings are still to be seen in existing Christian churchyards in Scotland.

Apart from these isolated instances of survival, the cup-and-ring marks degenerate into mere ornament. A considerable number of kist-slabs, both in Ireland and Brittany (referred to in the quotation from Simpson), have their surfaces covered with elaborate patterns derived from the cup-and-ring. All symbolism has apparently been lost, and all that remains is the tradition that designs of this character have some mysterious appropriateness as decorations for the sepulchral chamber; but the artist is at liberty to use them how and where he likes, in conjunction with other patterns.

The spirals, swastikas, triskeles, and other rare forms, I am inclined to class with the secondary interments in burial circles and barrows. These forms are all typical of Bronze Age ornament, and may have been added to the original carvings without any very clear object or meaning beyond adding something to a collection of carvings obviously of a sacred character. Once grant the idea that the Bronze Age people adopted the cup-and-ring carvings from an earlier race, I see no difficulty in the theory that they may occasionally have added a design of their

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Landon states that scrapings from cup marks are used in Thibet as medicine: *Lhasa*, ii. 383.

<sup>b</sup> Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 400.

<sup>c</sup> Cutts, *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses*, pl. viii.



own. In any case these curvilinear patterns are too rare to affect the previous argument.

Whether this theory of the ghost-houses be accepted or not remains to be seen, but I venture to claim it as the first suggestion capable of being supported by argument and illustration, and consistent with what we know of primitive ideas and customs. It reconciles to a large extent the views expressed by previous writers, and would, I think, have appealed to most of them. It gives a reasonable answer to Tate's query, already quoted: "What could induce tribes, living hundreds of miles apart, and even separated by the sea, to use precisely the same symbols, save to express some religious sentiments or to aid in the performance of some superstitious rites?" It agrees with Simpson's dicta "that they were emblems or symbols connected in some way with the religious thoughts and doctrines of those that carved them"; and that "man has ever conjoined together things sacred and things sepulchral; for the innate dread of death and the grave has ever led him . . . to invest his burial rites and customs with the characters and emblems of his religious creed." And Allen would find that my suggestion was not at variance with his own remarks, that cup-and-ring carvings "were either a well recognised symbol frequently repeated, or that the shape of the cup, ring, and groove, adapted itself specially to some ceremonial use," and "that they are connected in some way or other with funeral rites."

And finally, you will all agree that we may apply to these carvings the criticism that Bernard Picart, writing in 1733, applied (I think) to the cult of the mandrake: they are "*pratiques superstitieuses, qui ont séduit les peuples et embarrassé les savans.*"







PERSIAN SILVER DISH OF THE FOURTH CENTURY. (1.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1899.

XIII.—*On a Persian Silver Dish of the Fourth Century.* By O. M. DALTON, Esq.,  
M.A., F.S.A.

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Read 11th February, 1909.

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THE silver dish reproduced on Plate XLVIII. is a small but remarkably perfect representative of its class, and was acquired by the British Museum in the course of last year. The subject is a hunting scene, introducing the Sassanian monarch Sapor II. (c. A.D. 310 to A.D. 380), the conqueror of the Emperor Julian. The king, who is recognized by the form of his headdress,<sup>a</sup> is seen giving the *coup de grâce* to a stag, while a second stag is already laid low in the foreground. The design is parcel-gilt, and the figures are partly in relief, partly outlined upon the ground of the bowl, the details being rendered by engraving.

The process by which this and other silver bowls of the same kind were produced deserves especial notice; the figure-subjects are not cast, or embossed from a continuous plate of metal, but prepared separately and applied one by one. Dr. Read, who has examined several of these vessels with some care, has described the method of their manufacture in the following words: "The metal dish is first hammered out into the shape desired, and is then put upon the lathe and turned, in the same way as Roman silver plate. The design upon it is then set out, and the subjects intended to be in relief are made separately and affixed by means of solder. A good deal of the detail is then probably added, some of it being engraved upon the dish itself; the outline of the reliefs is then finally chased or hammered to produce a finished effect. Finally certain portions are slightly gilt. It is fairly certain that all these dishes are executed in this manner, although this might be doubtful if perfect specimens were alone available; but there is in the Museum a defective specimen, which has been so much injured that a number of the reliefs have become detached, conclusively showing the method employed.<sup>b</sup> In this example even the flattest raised subjects, such as the tree at the bottom of the design, have been cut out and applied in exactly the same way as the much more prominent figures in the middle. In the dish at present under discussion there is more engraving on the surface than in either of the others, for only the raised head and shoulders of the king and the rumps of the stags are applied. The middle of the body, the legs, and part of the horns are

<sup>a</sup> The headdresses are determined by those of the Sassanian coinage. By this means the king hunting lions upon another dish in the British Museum is identified as Bahram Gur, the "Bahram the great hunter," of Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam.

<sup>b</sup> Reproduced in *The Treasure of the Oxus and other Objects from Ancient Persia and India*, pl. xxv. (British Museum, 1905).



merely engraved, as well as the ornamental streamers fluttering from the garments. This mode of ornamenting silver plate is in one direction superior to that of embossing the design in the metal itself. The reverse of the vessel presents an even surface, while the appearance on the face is the same as that of embossing. The disadvantage of the method lies in readiness with which the reliefs may be damaged or detached."

The dish is said to have been found in Anatolia, and although this provenance is not certain, it is quite possible. Sassanian silver vessels of this kind were evidently made in considerable numbers, not only for use at home, but for export abroad. Among the barbarous tribes to the north of the Caspian and Black Seas they were in great request, because barbaric chiefs set great store by them and paid for them handsomely in rich furs. To this circumstance we owe the preservation of the greater number, which have been found, with Byzantine silver plate of the same period, on the estates of the Stroganoff family in the province of Perm, in Russia. From the fourth to the sixth centuries of our era they performed the same function as the guns and other expensive objects which in the present day are traded to barbaric kings or presented to them by the governments of civilised states. In the fifth century there is literary evidence for the popularity of silver plate among barbarians; Attila himself was amenable to this form of diplomatic present. Priscus, who in A.D. 448 accompanied an embassy from Theodosius II. to the camp of the great Hun, says that the guests were all served upon silver dishes, and drank from cups both of silver and gold: the embassy took with it on this occasion additional silver plate to add to the royal store. It is evident that the king of the Huns was keenly interested in plate.\* Fifteen years before, he had taken the city of Sirmium on the Save. The bishop, hoping to save his church vessels, sent them secretly to Constantius, the secretary of Attila, who a little later took them to Rome and pledged them with a silversmith named Silvanus. On his return Constantius died a violent death, and Attila did not forget the chalices of Sirmium for years.<sup>b</sup>

The best illustrations of Sassanian silver are to be found in the Atlas of M. J. J. Smirnoff's *Oriental Silver*, issued in the present year.<sup>c</sup> References to earlier publications will be found in the British Museum Catalogue, mentioned in the note on the preceding page. The present dish, though of comparatively small size, is worthy to take its place among the most interesting examples now preserved.

\* Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 66.

<sup>b</sup> Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 54.

<sup>c</sup> Published by the Imperial Russian Archaeological Commission. The text is in Russian.

XIV.—*The Ancient Topography of the town of Ludlow, in the county of Salop.*

*By* W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, *Esq.*, M.A.

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Read 6th May, 1909.

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IN April of last year I had the honour of laying before the Society a paper on Ludlow Castle.

While writing that paper my attention was drawn to certain points about the topography of the town of Ludlow, which do not seem to have been noticed before; and as these form part of an interesting chapter in the development of our town plans, I venture to submit them for the Society's consideration.

The topographical history of our old towns is but one among the many fascinating subjects still waiting for systematic investigation at the hands of antiquaries. Some valuable remarks on the subject may be found in the volumes on *English Domestic Architecture* by Messrs. Hudson Turner and John Henry Parker, but the subject is by no means exhausted, and there is plenty of material to hand for anyone who will take it up.

This material exists mainly in the form of old maps and plans, but it is essential that the places under investigation should not be left unvisited, and it is desirable in all cases to consult the plans published by the Ordnance Survey.

There are two special reasons for doing this: firstly, because, as in the case of Ludlow itself, the Ordnance Survey is sometimes the only available or reliable plan of the place; and, secondly, because the numerous levels marked thereon are such a useful feature in many ways.

Before examining the topography of Ludlow, it may be as well to describe its general situation and surroundings.

The town stands upon a broad tongue of rock, projecting westwards from higher ground to the east, and is bounded on the north by an alluvial flat, and on the west and south by the river Teme. On the opposite bank of the river rises abruptly the high rocky plateau called Whiteliffe. The site of the town itself, before it was cut off from it by the river, apparently along the line of a fault, was a continuation of the Whiteliffe plateau, and still presents to the north and west a



bold cliff which rises 100 feet above the Teme. This cliff forms a broad ridge running east and west, on which stands the northern part of the town, and from it the ground slopes rapidly southwards to the level of the river.

The Castle occupies the north-west corner of the town, which is, or was at one time, enclosed by a stone wall with six or seven gates or posterns, only one of which now remains. Considerable stretches of the town wall exist along the north and south sides. The area enclosed is fairly regular and measures about 1,300 feet from north to south by 1,700 feet from east to west, and covers about 60 acres.

The enclosing of the town seems, from an unfinished entry on the Patent Roll, to have been begun or contemplated in 1233, following on a visit of King Henry III. in 1231, but the many grants of murage between 1280 and 1317 suggest that the work was either postponed or a long time in hand.

Within the wall the town is laid out with marked regularity into a number of more or less rectangular divisions, but a study of the Ordnance Survey plan shows that the original arrangement has been somewhat disturbed. (Plate XLIX.)

There can be little doubt, for example, that the principal or High Street was a broad thoroughfare extending east and west along the high ground up to the castle gatehouse, now represented by King Street, High Street, Castle Street, and Castle Square. But its eastern end has been considerably narrowed, and its western part encroached upon by later blocks of buildings, including the lately rebuilt Town Hall.

The wide space between this High Street and the northern line of the town wall, with which it runs parallel, is partly occupied by houses and gardens (including the site of the old college of the Palmers' Gild), and partly by the fine and spacious parish church of St. Lawrence and its cemetery.

From the original High Street three other wide main thoroughfares run southwards down the slope of the hill, viz. Old Street (on the east), Broad Street, and Mill Street (on the west). All three are continued south of the wall down to the river, and at the lower end of Broad Street is the thirteenth-century Ludford Bridge over the Teme by which the town is entered from the south. The ground between Broad Street and Mill Street is subdivided into four divisions by the intersection of two narrow streets called Bell Lane and Raven Lane. The area between Broad Street and Old Street seems to have been similarly subdivided. It is traversed from east to west by Brand Lane, in line with Bell Lane, but the north and south street no longer exists, and its line can only be inferred by its boundaries, which are still plainly traceable north of Brand Lane.





PLAN OF  
LUDLOW  
SHOWING DISPOSITION OF STREETS  
The lighter tint shows the probable original disposition.  
Based on The Ordnance Survey

Scale 100 0 10 300 400  
Feet 100 0 10 300 400





The arrangement west of Mill Street has been a good deal disturbed, but there is a narrow lane, formerly called Christ Croft, parallel with it towards the river which is probably original, since it has on its western side the twelfth-century chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury (now an old furniture store) with its cemetery.

Between this lane and Mill Street there is a curious strip of ground extending north and south, with gardens abutting on it east and west. This strip, which itself is now cut up into gardens, is strongly suggestive of having been laid down as one of the original streets of the town, and its breadth, though somewhat less than that of the main streets, is identical with that of the absorbed street east of Broad Street, and probably of that of Raven Lane before it was narrowed by encroachments.

Why the street represented by this strip should have been disregarded it is not easy to see, but a tentative suggestion may be put forward.

In my paper on Ludlow Castle it was pointed out that there were reasons for thinking that the outer bailey was an addition to the original plan, made nearly a century later than the first building of the Castle.

Now before this outer bailey was added, the High Street in all probability continued westward, so as to lead directly to the Castle entrance, and the street under notice no doubt extended northward to meet it.

Such an arrangement would practically have reproduced that existing at the east end of the town, and had there been a cross street in continuation of Brand Lane and Bell Lane, debouching upon St. Thomas's Chapel and Dinham Gate, the whole plan would have been so symmetrical that it is difficult to suppose it was not so originally.

With the formation of the outer bailey the regularity of the lay-out was disturbed. The High Street was curtailed, the northern ends of the two streets south of it were absorbed by the Castle bailey; and instead of a direct access from the Castle to Dinham Gate a new way had to be made outside, following the course of the Castle ditch, and rendering the earlier streets more or less useless.

The disposition of things on the north side of High Street is less easy to follow.

At present only two streets run north from the old High Street, viz. the continuation of Old Street (now called Bull Ring) and Cowe Street, and the narrow passage called College Street, which runs past the west end of St. Lawrence's Church.

This passage may well at one time have been wide enough to extend to the



church wall, and to have formed a continuation of Broad Street leading to the postern called Linney Gate in the town wall. At the point where the line of the two streets crosses High Street anciently stood the High Cross.

Whether the lines of Raven Lane in its wider state, and of Mill Lane ever continued northward across High Street it is now hard to say. So far as existing boundaries can tell, they possibly did, but there do not seem to have been any openings in the town wall to which they might have led. On the other hand it must not be overlooked that the town was certainly planned and laid out before the wall was thought of, so the absence of these posterns does not count for much.

Just within the wall on the south side of the town, beginning on the west, is a narrow thoroughfare called Camp Lane, which is continued eastwards as Silk Mill Lane as far as Broad Street. These seem to be connected with the first setting out of the plan, and to have originally extended on to Old Street and joined Friars Walk, an ancient lane which the Austin Friars so early as 1284 obtained leave to inclose by hedges or walls.

But this extension was obliterated when the town wall was made, and is now represented by Frog Lane, outside the wall.

When it was decided to enclose Ludlow by a wall there was no difficulty as to the proper line of the north side owing to the steep cliff then existing. The line of the east side was no doubt dictated by buildings bordering on Old Street. The rest of the line was apparently drawn somewhat arbitrarily as regards lines of streets, and parallel with the river, but at such a height above flood level as not to endanger the safety of the foundations.

Of the gates only Broad Gate is standing. It is about 500 feet above Ludford Bridge and still retains its thirteenth-century gate passage with two large flanking drum towers, now absorbed into a house. The gate in line with Broad Gate in the north wall was only a postern called Linney Gate opening on the fields beyond, and the main gate towards the north was Corve Gate, at the outer end of Bull Ring. This has long been destroyed, as has a gate corresponding to it at the lower end of Old Street, called Old Gate. Between Corve Gate and Old Gate was another principal gate called Galdeford Gate. It was approached from the High Street by a narrow lane now called Tower Street, and faced eastwards the fork of two streets known as Upper Galdeford and Lower Galdeford.

A little to the west of Broad Gate was Mill Gate, at the bottom of Mill Street and on the west side of the town, just below the Castle, was Dinham Gate.

This guarded a second bridge of some six or seven arches across the Teme, but the old bridge has been replaced by a modern one a little further north, and only the bases of its piers remain in the bed of the river.

The lines of the roads immediately outside Ludlow have been so altered in modern times that it is hard to say what the old approaches were, and the subject is complicated by the fact of the late origin of the town itself. As I pointed out in my former paper, all the evidence is in favour of the place having originated with the first building of the Castle between 1085 and 1095, and it has therefore no connexion with any earlier system of roads, but is dependent solely on its own strong strategical position. We are therefore confronted with the interesting feature of a town which was laid out not long after the Conquest, and probably early in the twelfth century. It is, moreover, planned with a deliberate attempt at symmetrical arrangement, which, from whatever source it was borrowed, seems to be characteristic of other towns on the marches of Wales that have grown up like Ludlow under the shadow of a great castle. Radnor and Montgomery are other good cases in point.

That this symmetrical plan was new and also popular is shown by its adoption elsewhere: as, for example, at Salisbury or New Sarum, which had its beginnings as late as 1225; and also at Winchelsea, where a town of extreme rectangularity was laid out on another site by a royal commission specially appointed for the purpose in 1283. Mr. Hudson Turner has also shown that the so-called "English towns" in Aquitaine, which are characterized by their extreme regularity of plan, were laid out by persons sent over from England by command of King Edward I. in 1298.

Upon the towns of this class Mr. Turner has made the following pertinent remarks:

After discussing the characteristics of towns of Roman origin like Lincoln, Chester, and Colchester, and of others of irregular plan like Norwich and Bury St. Edmunds, he writes:

"There is, however, still another class of towns which were entirely founded in the middle ages, built from their foundations on a new site for some specific object, which have not been sufficiently noticed. These towns are more regular and symmetrical than most modern towns, and are built on an excellent and scientific plan, combining very close packing with great convenience for individuals, while the principal streets are wide, open, and straight, crossing each other at right angles only. There are always two parallel streets at a short distance one from the other, and connected by short streets at frequent intervals;



between these principal streets, and also in parallel lines, are narrow streets or lanes, corresponding to the modern mews, and employed for the same purpose: by this means each plot of ground for building on is of a uniform size and shape, a parallelogram with one end facing a principal street, and another a lane. In some towns each building plot, or, when built upon, each house, was also divided by a narrow passage or court, leading from the principal street to the lane, serving as a watercourse and surface drain. Sometimes when a larger house was required two plots were thrown together, and the passage omitted; and in some towns these narrow passages were not used at all.”<sup>a</sup>

A very cursory reference to the plan of Ludlow is sufficient to show how far it corresponds, even now, with Mr. Hudson Turner's general description, and it must have done so more closely before the changes of the twelfth century which disturbed the first setting out. The most important of these changes, as I have already pointed out, was the enlargement of the Castle area, but they also included the rebuilding of the parish church on its present large scale.

It only remains to point out that modern changes have had very little influence in destroying the picturesqueness of Ludlow, and that there are few places that exemplify so well the structure and plan of a purely medieval town.

<sup>a</sup> *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, from Edward I. to Richard II.* (Oxford, 1853), 154-155.

XV.—*Notes on the later history of the Steelyard in London.* By PHILIP NORMAN, Esq.,  
LL.D., Treasurer.

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Read 13th May, 1909.

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THE following paper is perhaps more historical than is now customary with us, but I venture to quote in my defence the second paragraph of our charter, which commends not only the study of "Antiquity" but of the "History of former times."

The paper chiefly describes the later connexion of the Germans with the Steelyard in London, that is from 1598, when they were turned out for a time by Queen Elizabeth, supplementing Dr. J. M. Lappenberg's book on the Hanseatic settlement here, published at Hamburg in 1851,\* which we have in our library. Incidentally I have written a note on the carved screen of All Hallows the Great, the parish church of the Steelyard.

The paper contains little about mediæval times, when the Hanseatic merchants got a lion's share of the trade of London, because this important subject has been treated with some completeness by Lappenberg and others. Besides there is already a plethora of material to deal with. For the latter reason it has not been thought desirable to discuss at length the origin of the English name "Steelyard" as applied to the factory, a subject on which our Fellow, Mr. C. L. Kingsford, gives a valuable note in his new edition of Stow's Survey. I would say here, however, that after careful study of the evidence at present available I have come to the conclusion that the word has nothing to do

\* *Urkundliche Geschichte des Hansischen Stahlhofes zu London.*



with steel or with a weighing machine, but that it is an Anglicised form (one can hardly call it a mistranslation) of the German "Stahlhof," in early times spelt "Stalhof," a name applied in the year 1320 to ground east of Windgoose Lane, which again was considerably east of the old *Aula Teutonicorum*. The original meaning of this has also occasioned much difference of opinion, as may be found from statements already published in England and from letters written to me by various learned men, among the rest Dr. Kretschmar, state archivist in Lubeck, and Dr. Küster, chief librarian at Hamburg.

A few more words by way of introduction. Even as early as the tenth century there were wide mercantile connexions between the Germans and English, and after the establishment of the Hanseatic League, outside Germany none of its settlements was as important as that of London. The Plantagenet kings favoured the German traders who dwelt in almost monastic seclusion by the Thames near Dowgate, for it was often convenient to borrow from them, and as creditors they did not unduly press their claims. Edward III., involved in costly warfare, became so indebted to the League that his crown and most precious jewels were for some time in pledge at Cologne, then the leading Hanseatic town, and the victories of Crecy and Poitiers seem to have been partly won with the help of German capital. The citizens of London naturally looked with less friendliness on foreigners who usurped much of their trade, but it is a curious fact that for years Bishopsgate, one of the chief gates of our city, was in part at least handed over to them for safe keeping and repair.

The influence of the Easterlings, as they were often called, may be said to have culminated here with the treaty drawn up at Utrecht and ratified at Westminster, 20th July, 1474, when in spite of the fact that for years frequent acts of piracy had been committed on both sides between the Hanseatic League and the English, which grew to open warfare, King Edward IV. not only reconfirmed all their ancient privileges in England, but accorded them new favours. This treaty, though disputes were frequent, remained in force during much of the sixteenth century. There seems to have been a St. Martin's summer of prosperity, when Holbein painted for the Hall of the Steelyard the two famous pictures, called the Triumph of Riches and the Triumph of Poverty, and splendid portraits of Hanseatic traders which still exist, notably those of George Gisze at the Berlin Museum and Derick Tybir at Vienna. But the discovery of America and the development afterwards of English trade and enterprise under the leadership of the Merchant Adventurers and other associations of a like kind, aided by such men as Sir Thomas Gresham, gradually undermined the position of the Hanseatic settle-

ment in London. A decree of the Privy Council, 24th February, 1552-53, reduced the Germans to the level of ordinary traders. This decree however was shortly afterwards for the time being annulled. Their right to the Steelyard property had not been called in question. At Queen Mary's coronation the German merchants joined in the festivities with great splendour and expense, and on her marriage next year they erected allegorical trophies in honour of her and her consort at a cost of £1,000. On first ascending the throne Queen Elizabeth showed no hostile feeling against them. During the next few years however their position was weakened by internal dissensions and mismanagement. A severe blow was struck at the League in general on 30th June, 1589, when Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris captured sixty Hanseatic vessels off the mouth of the Tagus laden with stores for the Spaniards.

In 1597, by an imperial mandate, all Englishmen were ordered to quit Germany within three months. To this Queen Elizabeth replied on the 13th of January, 1597-98, commanding the Hanseatic merchants to leave England on or before the 28th. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs were to take possession of the Steelyard and to hold it until further orders. After various delays, on the 25th of July the command was repeated in peremptory terms, and ten days later the Germans filed out under protest, and took their departure, their report to the Hanseatic Diet being as follows: "We left because it could not be otherwise, with heaviness of heart, Alderman Heinrich Langermann leading the way and we following out at the gate, and it was shut behind us, and we might not stay the night. Heaven pity us."

With this dramatic outgoing the German traders ceased to hold a privileged position in London, and the Steelyard, which had been their headquarters from early times, even long before the creation of the Hanseatic League, passed into English hands. Of the later history of the League on the Continent, suffice it to say that its power was broken in the 'Thirty Years' War, that the towns belonging to it, which according to Mr. R. C. Clephan, at one time numbered ninety-six, other writers putting them at over eighty, gradually dropped away until only three were left, and that these, namely Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, have of late relinquished all rights. It will now be shown, in part from the German of Dr. Lappenberg, but chiefly from English documents not before referred to, that in England these Germans defended themselves with wonderful tenacity, and if they never recovered more than a shadow of their old time influence, they managed to get back and retain for centuries their hold on the Steelyard property, until indeed it ceased to be useful to them, when they sold it within my recollection.



We have seen how on the 25th day of July, 1598, the Steelyard was evacuated. It was not, however, at once used by the English authorities, and as Lappenberg informs us, no disturbance of German rights was attempted at the minor Hanseatic establishments of Lynn and Boston. The London factory was placed under the care of the Lord Mayor and Customs officials, but the Germans did not leave England, and some of them at least remained in the neighbourhood of their former dwelling. Lappenberg says that the Queen allowed this by specially recalling her order to the contrary.

From a letter to the Lord Mayor, dated 30th September, 1598, we learn that leave was given to two former inmates, by name John Wachendorff and Basill Poleman, who were reported to be of honest conversation, and who had heretofore "enjoyed certain roomes in the howse of the Stilliard," to sell by degrees, as opportunity offered, a quantity of Rhenish wine reported as "94 fattes" which had remained on their hands when the property was seized.<sup>a</sup> On the same date, in another letter, the Lord Mayor was ordered to allow officers from Her Majesty's storehouses at Deptford to have access to the place and to select rooms suitable for the storing of cordage that had been "brought into the realme by Muscovie merchauntes" for the use of the navy, and "remained unladen for want of a convenient place where the same might be bestowed." One or two rooms were also to be selected "for the aboade of somme meete person" to act as storekeeper. On 16th January, 1598-9, we find that cordage from Hamburg and from Dutch ships which has been seized as contraband is to be laid up "in the store howse at the Stillyard that hath bin of late appointed for such use."<sup>b</sup> On the 30th of the same month, "now that the Aldermen are departed from the Stilliard," the Lord Mayor is told to deliver the house to naval officers for purposes of storage, assurance being given that the rent to the city will be forthcoming.<sup>c</sup> A State Paper of the 31st March, 1598-9, gives an account of the lading of the Hamburg ships taken by Sir Richard Leveson on the narrow seas. Gunpowder is to be sent to the Tower, and cordage to the Stillyard storehouse.<sup>d</sup> The hope of an amicable arrangement between the Steelyard authorities and the English government did not however vanish. In spite of what has been told above, the League decided in October, 1600, to continue various payments, including the quit rent to the Corporation and his yearly due to the minister

<sup>a</sup> *Acts of Privy Council*, 1598, 102.

<sup>b</sup> *Acts of Privy Council*, 1598-99, 260.

<sup>c</sup> *Acts of Privy Council*. See also Harl. MS. 4182.

<sup>d</sup> *State Papers Domestic*, cclxx. No. 68.

of All Hallows, also to retain and remunerate their alderman and their secretary, and to leave the silver plate in the hands of the former, part only having been removed for safety to Lubeck in 1598.

Next month we find the Lord Admiral giving orders to eject a couple of tenants named Cutbert Thursby and John Dewell who had clung to their old quarters. The keys of their lodgings were to be delivered to one of the principal officers of the Navy forthwith.<sup>a</sup> On the other hand, 1st February, 1600-1, the alderman of the Steelyard having complained that an iron door there "that hath not bin opened theis forty yeares" had been broken down, and a quantity of sea coal deposited in the garden, and that the Lord Mayor also purposed "to make some alteracions to the defacinge of the same house,"<sup>b</sup> the representative of the Privy Council writes to the Lord Mayor as follows:

"Forasmuch as the house was commytted to your keepinge provieionally until her Majesty should have cause otherwyse to dispose of the same, and they seeme to conceave good hope (by advertysment they have receaved) that the differences between the superiours and her Majesty's subjects may be taken away, in the meane season wee have thought good to pray your Lordship to forbear to putt the garden to any such use as may breed danger or hurte to the house, and to make no alteracion there untill you shall acquainte us with the same and take our decision therein."

Still the Germans made no progress towards the recovery of their old possession. A letter from Queen Elizabeth dated 2nd April, 1601, and addressed to the Treasurer of the Exchequer, mentions the delivery "into our storehouses at Deptford and the Stillyard by the Muscovy merchants of quantities of rosin, cordage, train oil, tar," etc.<sup>c</sup> In March, 1601-2, Christopher Hoddesdon, Governor of the Merchant Adventurers, addressing Secretary Cecil, says that "ever since the Stillyard was put down they" (the Hanse towns) "have used great practices to hinder the trade of the Merchant Adventurers,"<sup>d</sup> and in December, 1602, we read of naval stores being at the Stillyard.<sup>e</sup>

On the Queen's death in 1603 the Secretary in London advised the League to use the opportunity of James's accession for attempting to regain their property and influence. Lubeck supported this view, Bremen was against it. Letters

<sup>a</sup> *Acts of Privy Council*, 1600, lxvi. A.

<sup>b</sup> *Acts of Privy Council*, 1600-01, 65.

<sup>c</sup> *State Papers Domestic* (Elizabeth), cclix. No. 49.

<sup>d</sup> *State Papers Domestic* (Elizabeth), cclxxxiii. No. 51.

<sup>e</sup> *State Papers Domestic* (Elizabeth), cclvi. No. 11.



were exchanged between the League and the King, and an effort was made to obtain the favour of Parliament. However, by an Order in Council dated 30th September, 1604, the claim of the Hanse towns to certain ancient privileges was rejected as injurious to trade.<sup>a</sup>

Nevertheless, in 1606, on condition that English traders were allowed to carry on business freely in the Hanse towns, King James gave the Steelyard back to the Germans after it had been out of their hands for eight years. Dr. Lappenberg supplies this information, there being unfortunately a gap in the records of the Privy Council from 1606 to 1613.

The buildings had probably suffered from rough usage, and Lappenberg speaks of them as soon falling into decay, so that the inhabitants, eight in number, applied to the Hanse towns for help in carrying out the necessary repairs.

In 1610 there was serious trouble again, of a kind which indicates that the Germans had not effectively occupied their old quarters. From a letter addressed by John More to Secretary Winwood, London, we are told that "His Majesty doth resolve to send forth a fleet to take such ships of the Hanses as they can find in the narrow seas. Such small proportion of their goods as remain in the Styllard and other places of this town are seized by the Lord Mayor."<sup>b</sup>

By indenture of December, 1616, between the "Elders and Juratts of the Company of Marchants of the Dutch Hamce resident in the Stilliard" and the churchwardens of All Hallows, Upper Thames Street, the former gave up for the time being some pews and seats that they had heretofore used, retaining only two long pews in the south aisle between the cloister door and the chancel. This shows that their number had diminished, but they were evidently as before an organised body.

In 1618 began the Thirty Years' War, from which the Hanse towns suffered so much, while at the same time English trade was developing. They continued, however, long afterwards to be formidable by sea, as late at least as the year 1650 if we may judge from the fine model of a Hanseatic line-of-battle ship now at the United Service Museum.

It seems from a lay subsidy of 1621,<sup>c</sup> that there were then only five Hanse merchants dwelling in the Steelyard. Their names are given, all foreign but one,

<sup>a</sup> *State Papers Domestic* (James I.), ix. No. 55.

<sup>b</sup> *Hist. MSS. Com.* (Buccleuch Papers), i. 90.

<sup>c</sup> *Lay Subsidy*, 147, 487, A.D. 1621.

and they are taxed on the sum of £43, their three foreign servants also being mentioned. However, King James evidently still thought the Hanse towns a power to be reckoned with, for on 8th January, 1622, he pleaded the cause of his son-in-law Frederick, Elector Palatine, titular King of Bohemia, and husband of the "Queen of Hearts," from whom his present Majesty is descended.<sup>a</sup> On 29th October, 1626, the Hanse agent, named Johann Heldt or Held writes from the "Stylyard" to Secretary Nicholas asking favour for a countryman and citizen of "Hambrowe," who is imprisoned in the Marshalsea, Southwark, "brought there for a Dunkerker."<sup>b</sup> On 22nd August, 1628,<sup>c</sup> Charles I. desires that favour and courtesy be shown to the Hanse merchants.

From 1632 onwards, for a great many years, attempts were made at intervals by various methods to disprove the right of the Germans to their property in London; they in their turn defending themselves with wonderful vigour and resource. The various attacks are referred to, partly by Lappenberg, partly in the State Papers and other English documents. I have tried to join these accounts into something like a continuous narrative, omitting minute details.

In 1632 it was attempted by legal process to get hold of the property, an inquisition being taken wherein the jurors found that the Hanse merchants had long ago abandoned it, and that it had lapsed to the King.<sup>d</sup> According to Lappenberg the attack was warded off for a time by Bartold Moller, Secretary to the Hamburg Council, who came from the Continent, and proved that the proceedings were taken without the cognizance of His Majesty's Privy Council, and that Lord Chancellor Weston and State Secretary Sir John Coke had expressed surprise at what had occurred. Among our State Papers<sup>e</sup> is a petition by the Hanse agent, Heldt, dated 1st June, 1635, against the finding of the inquisition. Perhaps he was acting under the direction of Lieinve Van Aitzema who according to Lappenberg was that year sent over by the League as deputy to the King to frustrate fresh efforts, made this time by Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, to get hold of the Steelyard property. The King is reported to have received Van Aitzema in a friendly manner, and to have given him presents on his return. The question of Johann Heldt's petition

<sup>a</sup> Lappenberg, part ii. 192.

<sup>b</sup> *State Papers Domestic* (Charles I.), xxxviii. No. 75.

<sup>c</sup> *State Papers Domestic* (Charles I.), cxiii. No. 43.

<sup>d</sup> Exchequer Special Commission, 5470.

<sup>e</sup> *State Papers Domestic* (Charles I.), cxc. No. 1.



was referred to Archbishop Laud, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seal, and others. After long debate, and the evidence of the merchant adventurers that the King's subjects at Hauburg and other places connected with the League were favourably treated, it was ordered, 19th January, 1635-36, that the merchants of the Hanse towns should quietly enjoy their "guild and Steelyard" as long as the fair usage of His Majesty's subjects in those parts should invite their favour and grace.<sup>a</sup>

At this time, and for some years afterwards, the buildings continued to decay. In 1641, says Lappenberg, a secretary to the Lubeck Council, named Haveland, was sent to London with letters for the King and Parliament pleading for a restoration of ancient privileges. One of these must be the letter of May 6th, 1641, from the Hanse towns quoted in a Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.<sup>b</sup> In it they complain that they have been disturbed in the possession of the houses or steelyards granted to them in London, Boston, and Lynn, and that by the inequalities of the customs the English merchants have engrossed the whole trade both outward and inward. They pray for confirmation by King and Parliament of their right in the houses, and for the maintenance of the provisions of the former treaty of intercourse. The disturbed state of affairs in England brought negotiations to a standstill, but Haveland's mission had not been in vain, as, for the time being at any rate, the immunity of occupants of the Steelyard from taxation as well as its freehold was secured to them. In July, 1647, Jacob Jacobsen,<sup>c</sup> son of Peter Jacobsen, of Hamburg, and born in 1619, who was destined to play an important part at the Steelyard, became "house-master," a name of the head official, at that time generally used in place of alderman, secretary, or agent. He had been seven years at the Steelyard, having come last from Lubeck.

After the execution of Charles I. in January, 1648-49, negotiations were carried on at intervals between the Commonwealth and the Hanseatic merchants, Cromwell apparently being not adverse to them, but the accounts show that they had to make friends with the "mammon of unrighteousness" (or righteousness) in rather an expensive manner. From Cromwell's death the affairs of the Steelyard

<sup>a</sup> *State Papers Domestic* (Charles I.), cccxi. No. 83.

<sup>b</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission (Fourth Report), Appendix, 62.

<sup>c</sup> Lappenberg says that he was perhaps nephew of Hans Jacobsen, the well-known jeweller of James I., whose large house in Petticoat Lane, with a garden behind it, was afterwards occupied by the father of John Strype who edited the well-known edition of Stow's *Survey*.

remained in abeyance, though various attacks were made on the property during the time of his feeble son and successor.

At the restoration of Charles II. the Germans took part in the festivities and rejoicings arranged for his entry into London. Shortly afterwards violent efforts were made to get possession of the Steelyard by one or two of the King's adherents who hoped to be thus rewarded for past and probably unpaid services. Among them was Sir Bernard Gascoigne, a brave soldier, and Daniel O'Neill, who had also fought for Charles and had been his groom of the bedchamber during exile. The latter acted with a son of Sir Edward Nicholas, who for £200 had bought up the supposed rights of another claimant named Marmaduke Marshall. Nevertheless the Hanseatic claims were officially accepted, as appears from the report of a Council of State held at Whitehall, 8th April, 1663.<sup>a</sup>

About this time the annual income of £300 to £400 was a good deal larger than the expenses, of which the chief appears to have been £40 a year for the house-master's salary. The surplus was used in defraying charges of envoys. The Hanse towns had not of late neglected the buildings; in 1654 they had caused two houses to be rebuilt, and in 1660 four others. In the latter year it was intended to repair the tower attached to the hall, but little was done. In spite of the Order of Council of 8th April, 1663, referred to above, the tenure of the Steelyard was still liable to attack. In 1665 we find Sir Geoffrey Palmer, the Attorney-General, in a report, asserting that the Germans "do not employ the houses for merchandize as formerly when they had factories there," thus benefiting trade, but merely let the tenements for rent which they convert to their own use.<sup>b</sup>

The Great Fire of 1666 reached the place a few hours after its outbreak on the morning of Sunday, 3rd September, and the buildings were soon reduced to ashes. The house-master, according to Lappenberg, escaped with difficulty, being obliged to flee in his burning clothes, but this perhaps was a slight exaggeration. The Hamburg deputies, who happened to be lodging in the Steelyard, were also hard pressed. Immediately afterwards Jacobsen reported to the Hanse towns that the English Government was busy on the subject of reconstruction and intended to confiscate any ground not built upon. Lubeck sent round a circular not only to the more important Hanse towns but to all that could in any way be included,

<sup>a</sup> Our authorities, with regard to these subjects, are *State Papers Domestic* (Charles II.), xvii. No. 32, September, 1660, and lxvi. No. 65, 1662, also Lappenberg, part i. 17-19, and for O'Neill and Gascoigne the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>b</sup> *State Papers Domestic* (Charles II.), cxliii. Nos. 89 and 90.



calling upon them to take part in the rebuilding. Hamburg remarked, 11th December, 1666, that no accounts had been received for six years, therefore that no decision could be arrived at as to funds for covering the expense, and that it would be necessary first to see the design for the proposed new structure. Shortly afterwards a Royal Proclamation having been issued in England limiting to nine months the time for the commencement of rebuilding, a Hanse Diet was convoked specially to consider the affair, but representatives from only a few towns attended, Cologne and Dantzic failing to appear, while Stralsund, Wisby, Brunswick, and Hildesheim declined to contribute. Lubeck voted for rebuilding at the common expense. Years passed away, and the last general Hanse Diet, held at Hamburg in 1669, came to no conclusion on the subject. Meanwhile the site would have been confiscated had not Jacobsen obtained an extension of the time for rebuilding. He advised that it would at least be well to begin rebuilding the façade towards Upper Thames Street, in order to quiet the English, and on 14th October, 1670, he arranged with a man named John Ball,\* said to have been a joiner by trade, who contracted at his own expense to erect a building on the site of the old Hall with a front facing Thames Street, 48 feet wide, 50 feet deep, and 42 feet wide on the south side, with six houses and an arch into the adjoining passage of Windgoose Lane. Two other contracts with Ball related to neighbouring plots having respectively 66 feet and 45 feet frontage. Altogether the annual payment to the League for 159 feet of frontage was to be £71 11s., or 9s. a foot, on a 50 years' lease beginning 29th September, 1671. A smaller plot was let by Jacobsen to Richard Sherwood for 61 years at £6, and another to John Fitch for 51 years at £5 a year.

By these means the requirements of the English authorities were for the time being satisfied, but still the greater part of the Steelyard towards the Thames remained unused and unprofitable. The house-master urged further building operations, because his brother Theodore, who had previously dwelt on the chief site, was eager to contract for rebuilding this southern portion, but on terms which the Hanse towns considered too favourable to him. The house-master was deeply annoyed at their attitude and threatened to retire. His letter of 25th March, 1671, concludes with the words "Vale! forsaken Steelyard." Finally, however, as the towns could not be persuaded to move in the matter, the brothers agreed to let the English authorities appointed for settling

\* Lappenberg, part i. 135. See also *Chancery Masters' Papers* (Horne), 412. Jacobsen v. Almaine.

disputes about buildings destroyed in the fire decide between them, without further consulting the League.<sup>a</sup> Theodore Jacobsen therefore claimed the plot formerly held by him, which was about 157 feet in width towards the Thames, 285 feet deep and 142 feet wide towards the north, for an annual ground rent of £110, promising to lay out £8,000 to £9,000. On 31st October, 1673, these offers were accepted by the English Court of Judicature that sat in Clifford's Inn,<sup>b</sup> and as he intended to erect there a durable building that might accord with the dignity and splendour of the City, on a spot so much frequented by foreigners, the petitioner prayed for a further term of nine months, during which instead of ground rent merely a peppercorn rent was to be paid if demanded. The accounts show that he paid a peppercorn rent till Midsummer, 1675. Since the Court had no power to grant him a tenure of more than forty years, his brother Jacob, as chief of the German traders, and two of that body named Johann Lemkuel and George Matzen, granted him by a deed drawn up on 9th July, 1674, thirty-one more years on like terms, so that the arrangement was for seventy-one years. In fact it gave him and his heirs a hold over the southern part of the property till 1745, but, according to Lappenberg, without the official sanction of the Hanse League. In the action *Jacobsen v. The Hanse Towns*<sup>c</sup> we are clearly told, at least from the point of view of the family, how matters stood with regard to this rebuilding. An abstract of this statement, together with the reply of the Hanse towns, is given in the Appendix.

About the time that building operations were completed, in the autumn of 1680, Jacob Jacobsen the house-master died, whereupon as we learn from Lappenberg his aforesaid brother Theodore recommended himself as his successor, offering also to become lessee of the southern building, on which he said that he had laid out £8,200. In a letter dated 16th November, 1680,<sup>d</sup> he quotes a legal opinion that "if it should be known that the within part was built and inhabited by English probably the Hanse towns might loose (*sic*) their property, when there would not want informers to incite some courtiers to beg it of the King, as is known it has

<sup>a</sup> In the legal proceedings between the Jacobsons and of the Hanse towns many years afterwards, the latter affirmed that, according to Theodore's books, he had begun to build a small dwelling-house on the site in November, 1667, that in March, 1667-68, he mended the crane, and that in September he received money for cranage and for warehouse rent "which shows that all the warehouses were not burnt." See *Chancery Masters' Papers* (Horne), 412.

<sup>b</sup> Lappenberg, part ii. 199-202.

<sup>c</sup> *Chancery Proceedings*, 1714-1758, Bundle 471, 17th June, 1721.

<sup>d</sup> *Chancery Masters' Papers*, Master Horne, Bundle 412.



often been attempted, which however after a grand debate in the King's Council on the 8th April, 1663, was then free from those informers. And as we had daily the like apprehensions in regard to the great reflections made not only by this city but also by the court, wherefore I at last took the resolution to undertake the building, upon the authority of the Hanse towns, in which I went so deep that God be thanked the whole Yard is now rebuilt as it was formerly, with gates to shut up house and warehouses within, so that no English have any habitation therein. I have also built a fine bridge, and as well there as to the street for ornament have caused the Arms of the Hanse Towns to be set up."

With Theodore Jacobsen's help the cities managed to procure from King Charles II. in his letter of 28th February, 1683, a confirmation of the Steelyard's immunity from taxes. After the brief reign of James II., and the events immediately following it, Hanseatic interests were not affected. On 23rd May, 1689, under William and Mary, Charles II.'s exemption was renewed,<sup>a</sup> and on 31st January, 1691-92, a letter was addressed by the King's authority to the Lord Mayor and Corporation, telling them that goods lately distrained were to be restored to the agent of the Steelyard; and that it was to be freed from "all duties and taxes whatsoever."<sup>b</sup> But according to Lappenberg the land tax was reimposed on it within the next few years.

The position of Theodore Jacobsen as titular house-master was held by him until he died in the summer of 1706. The cities considered his services adequately paid by residence in the Steelyard, while he himself, and the other German merchants with him, were perhaps not very anxious to disclose the full particulars of his contract. Like his brother, he had no children, and shortly before his death he made over all his rights in the Steelyard derived from that contract to the two sons of his deceased brother Heinrich Jacobsen, who had held the post of Alderman at Hamburg. They were named, like their uncles, Jacob and Theodore, and in his will dated 12th June, 1706, the full particulars of which are given in the Appendix, the testator directs them to carry on jointly the trade heretofore in his hands.<sup>c</sup> Charges out of the income of the Steelyard were to be paid to his sister

<sup>a</sup> *King's Letter Book*, i. 11. *State Papers Domestic*, *Entry Book*, clxii.

<sup>b</sup> *State Papers Domestic*, *Entry Book*, clxiii. 45.

<sup>c</sup> Theodore, the testator, had made an affidavit in 1683, from which we gather that Jacob, who must have been by several years the elder of the two nephews, had been born in Hamburg, and that he was then about five years old, his mother being Idell Sherenbourg, wife of Heinrich Jacobsen. As the Theodore had no children he naturalized him, intending to bring him up a Protestant, in England, and to adopt him as heir.

Ann Jacobsen, which, if liabilities for rent, etc. are added, would amount to something like £800 a year, without reckoning the cost of repairs and other occasional outgoings. She was also to be allowed to occupy the fore part of his house facing the Thames. We are told by Lappenberg, quoting from the account books, that the packing rooms then yielded a rental of from £2,000 to £3,000 a year, these being now much sought after, especially by the East India Company.\* Other relations mentioned in the will are a niece, Gardruth Bodham of Lynn, Norfolk, widow; a niece, Edell Engell Verpoorten, wife of John Henry Verpoorten, of London, and two children of his deceased nephew Henry, by name Theodore Balthasar and Anna Eleanora Jacobsen.

After the death of Theodore Jacobsen the testator, his elder nephew, Jacob Jacobsen, applied for the post of agent and house-master, and according to a list printed by Lappenberg<sup>b</sup> he held office in 1706 and 1707, but the authorities of the Hanse towns did not favour him. Indeed in their statement during chancery proceedings, which is printed in the Appendix, they deny that either he or his uncle Theodore was formally appointed. After a brief correspondence no more letters appear to have been exchanged by them until in 1714 he wrote announcing the death of Queen Anne. The League had ignored him for years and seems not to have been officially represented in England from 1707 to 1720. Jacob was mixed up in the affairs of the notorious South Sea Company, being for some time a Director, chosen at the triennial elections of 1715 and 1718. When the Scheme collapsed, proceedings having been taken against the Directors, by order of the House of Commons an elaborate inventory was made of his estate real and personal, two copies of which are in the British Museum. He was declared to be worth £11,481 4s., and a Grand Committee of the House of Commons agreed without a division, on the motion of Mr. John Hungerford, to fine him £481 4s., allowing him to retain £11,000. This was lenient treatment compared with what was meted out to Sir John Fellowes (Sub-Governor) and to Sir John Blunt, whose estates were valued at £243,096 0s. 6d. and £183,349 10s. 8½d. respectively, and who were left with no more than £10,000 and £5,000. Jacob had been knighted 10th February, 1717-18, and took to wife Ann, daughter of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Lord Mayor in 1710. Two daughters were born to them: Ann who,

\* In 1701, according to a Treasury Paper, vol. 76 No. 31, the goods of the New East India Company were here, and those of the Old East India Company were at St. Helen's and Leadenhall. It was certainly occupying the north wing of Crosby Place till 1702. The two companies were soon afterwards amalgamated.

<sup>b</sup> Lappenberg, part i. 160.



17th November, 1750, married Sir John Morgan, Baronet, of Kinnersly, sometime M.P. for Hereford, and collateral descendant of the buccaneer; and Hester who before 1735 became the wife of Mr. Walton.

Jacobsen and his brother Theodore being on anything but cordial terms with the Hanse towns, the latter, contrary to the recommendation of the Hanoverian minister, in 1720 appointed Johann Gerhard von Hoppmann to be their London agent, after having the title of Hanoverian resident conferred on him. According to Lappenberg he had already shown himself too high-handed and severe. Shortly afterwards legal proceedings were instituted between the Jacobsen brothers and the Hanse towns. The former advanced claims for a considerable sum, including the house-master's salary of £40 a year since 1667, and various disbursements; while their opponents claimed part of the Steelyard on the plea that the forty years' tenure granted by the English Court of Judicature after the Great Fire had expired in 1714. The Lord Chancellor's judgment of December, 1724,<sup>a</sup> left matters undecided, and no agreement was arrived at. What with decrees and appeals, litigation went on at intervals during many years; and the record of this has at least afforded useful material with regard to the history of the Steelyard, as particulars of the receipts and disbursements for many years were furnished by the Jacobsens. These having been unearthed by the help of Mr. W. J. Hardy, I will now make a few extracts from them and append my remarks.

Among the disbursements by Jacob Jacobsen the elder, in 1656, the first year of which the accounts are extant,<sup>b</sup> is the sum of £10 3s. 4d. to the chamberlain of London for a year's quit rent. The following items are also recorded:

	£	s.	d.
To the poor prisoners at Easter and at Christmas . . . . .	0	13	0
To the Klinke over the Water, yearly according to custom . . . . .	1	10	4
To the Upper Quest, their due, in money wine and fish . . . . .	1	18	6
To the Under Quest at their meeting . . . . .	0	6	8
To the scavenger his weekly due, besides what he has carried away . . . . .	4	0	0
To the saltpeter men to provide the warehouses with ditches . . . . .	0	10	0
Spent with Mr. Skinner and others at Westminster Whitehall the Temple and in taverns . . . . .	6	12	6
To waterage and coach hire to and from Westminster this year . . . . .	12	18	0

<sup>a</sup> Lappenberg, part i. 138.

<sup>b</sup> *Chancery Masters' Papers*, Horne, 412, Jacobsen v. Almaine.

To the dogs' keeper (moneys in soliciting at court about the expenses concerning the privileges extraordinary paid)	£	s.	d.
	3	15	0
To Mr. Forbunel the Under Secretary at Whitehall	2	4	0
To Mr. Skinner the secretary for his assistance and drawing up of petitions this year for the Steelyard	12	0	0
To the gardener for cutting the vines	1	5	0

These vines were in the garden which had existed from early times near the river.

"To the Latin Secretary £3 in gold to obtain the three cities to be included £3 6." An entry of particular interest in view of the fact that the Latin Secretary was no other than John Milton. We must bear in mind that officials were then largely paid by fees and perquisites.

"To a present made to the Secretary Thurloe, £4 10." This of course was Cromwell's famous Secretary of State, John Thurloe. A copy of a letter from the house-master to him, dated 5th April, 1653, is preserved. The English is that of a foreigner, it concludes thus: "Praying excuse that in the midst of the great affairs (you) should be molestif, I rest &c. Jacob Jacobsen."

"To the poor from Savoy paid by order of the Protector, £1." They were in all probability refugees from the Vaudois country, whom Cromwell so nobly defended from persecution, and about whom Milton wrote the sonnet beginning

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints whose bones  
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold."

Cromwell's intervention had taken place in the previous year, namely, 1655.

There is also payment of a "quit rent to Clerkenwell," the amount being £1 13s. 8d., which may represent an annual sum of £1 15s. payable to the nuns of Clerkenwell as mentioned in an act of the year 1475. But this is more likely to be represented by the next item, viz. a quit rent of £1 15s. payable to the king, which the Crown would have annexed at the time of the Dissolution.

The total disbursements for 1656, including the house-master's salary of £40, are £281 3s. 6d.

Among the receipts are entered amounts of rent from the house at "Lyn," from chambers and warehouses in "Wingoo's Alley, and without the Steelyard lying in Thames Street." They include the "Guildhall Teutonicorum" let to Richard Darnelly at £30 a year, a warehouse under the Great Hall, and houses called the Swan and the Pelican, various other chambers and warehouses, and "bye strangers received this year for cranidge £4 5s." Total £624 13s. 4d.



In 1657 and 1658, over and above expenses similar to those of the previous year, there are heavy payments "in soliciting in favour of the Steelyard." The envoy, Dr. Petersen, also receives £450. Other payments are £57 2s. 8d. for dessert dishes which were made a present of "by his order," and "To Paulus Van de Velde" for Rhenish wine which he sent to the Attorney-General of the Exchequer, which was well accepted and made the affairs better £2 8s. Another item is £4 2s. 6d. for Spaw water sent to Chelsea to Mr. Whitelocke, probably Bulstrode Whitelocke, keeper of the Great Seal, with whom Cromwell was on intimate terms. Spaw water to the value of £3 19s. 6d. is also delivered to the "Secretarius."

In 1659 the Great Hall was being repaired and payments were continued in defence of the Steelyard. There is a present of £2 10s. "to divers poor out of Germany."

In 1660 Mr. Harris, the carpenter, receives £4 18s. "for erecting a bonfire, item for a mast and pitch barrel, and for drink-money to the porter and spectators when the King made his entry."

"To wine sent to Sir Richard Fanshawe to forward the answer on the congratulations £3 16s., and to his clerks 10s."

There is a long account of Fanshawe in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The same year £400 were paid for "4 new builded houses," and £11 5s. for "lead and workmanship of the steeple of the Great Hall," also to the smith £8 17s. 6d. for "iron work in the steeple."

In 1661 charges for the vines were still continued. There is also a payment of £11 "to the German church for a triumphal arch at the day of the King's coronation."

In 1662 the "Dogs' keeper" has £3 5s. for "dogs and collars for the same."

After the Great Fire it was stated that the following sums were then payable out of the Steelyard yearly:

To the City of London . . . . .	£70 2s. 4d.
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This is the "annuell and acquite rent of three score and ten pound three shelynges and four penys" mentioned in an Act of Parliament, March 23rd, 1475, as payable by the "merchauntes of Almayne" to the "maire and communialte and their successours."

To the King . . . . .	£3 9s. 8d.
To the Minister of the Parish . . . . .	£13 6s. 8d.

The payment to the minister corresponds in amount with a charge on that part of the property which had belonged to John Reynell, alderman. Under his will, as recorded in the Act of 23rd March, 1475, the reversion of this charge, still having thirty-two years to run during which it went to the City of London, was to be paid to the Hospital of Elsing Spital, a foundation dissolved in the reign of Edward VI.

"To the Bishop of Winchester four gallons of Rhenish wine for which Jacob Jacobsen deceased charged in his account to 24th June, 1666, £1 10s. 4d. a year, supposed to be the cost of the said wine, £1 10s. 4d."

This is the charge mentioned in 1656 as being paid to the "Klinke over the water," the Clink being the manor or liberty of those great ecclesiastics the Bishops of Winchester, who had their town residence close to the church of St. Mary Overy in Southwark for more than five hundred years. From the above-mentioned Act of 1475 it appears that the Bishop of Winchester was then "seased in his demeane as in fee of an annuell rent charge of LIII shelynges VI penys goying out of the stileyard as in the right of his church of seynt Swithyn of Wynchestre." The payment of 18s. to Bermondsey Abbey was discontinued, the abbot and his successors on this account being excused certain payments to the King for which they had before been liable. The Germans had gradually acquired their property subject to charges "for dedes of almes and pite," which "before tyme have been born by force of olde fundacions or by the laste willes of Christen people,"\* and these charges were continued.

There is also a payment of 19s. 3d. "to the Inquest of the parish, their due in money, wine, and ling," a word still used to describe fish of the cod kind, derived from the Dutch or low German.

On 31st December, 1670, the Chamber of London, that is the City Corporation, receives for five years' quit rent £350 16s. 8d., representing the annual rate of £70 3s. 4d.

The same day occurs a very interesting payment, namely :

"To Gabriel Cibbert, stone entter—for the eagle put on over the gate from Thames Street, fixed on John Balls buildings, £5."

This is undoubtedly the sculptured stone (fig. 1), having on it an eagle displayed with crowned collar and two heads, the German arms adopted with occasional variations by the Hanse towns, which was found by Mr. Lawrence Weaver in the garden of Bickley Hall, formerly the residence of successive owners of Bickley Park, Kent. An illustration of it from a photograph by him with

\* Act of Parliament, 15 Edward IV. 23rd March, 1475.



accompanying note appeared in the *Architectural Review*. The inscription round the eagle is as follows: SI : MERCAT : HANSE . THEUTONI : LOND : IN REGNO : ANG : RESIDEN.

It is rather an interesting fact that in the action *Jacobsen v. The Hanse Towns* a translation of a letter of 21st June, 1670, was produced, written by Jacob Jacobsen to the defendants.\* In this, while begging them to accept Ball's offer to take part of the land on building lease, he goes on to say that the people representing The Hanse are bound to live on the spot, or they would lose their



Fig. 1. Arms of the Hanseatic League, from the Steelyard.

privileges, "for that the Act of Parliament is so expressly worded, as it also appears by the signets which have been affixed to all former contracts, where round about the Eagle stand written" the very words quoted above as inscribed on Cibber's tablet.

Cains Gabriel Cibber, born in Holstein, father of Colley Cibber and a sculptor of some merit, carved the figures of "Melancholy" and "Raving Madness" set up at Bethlehem Hospital, Moorfields, in 1680:

\* *Chancery Masters' Papers*. Master Horne, Bundle 412.

"Where o'er the gates, by his fam'd father's hand,  
Great Cibber's brazen brainless brothers stand."

Thus Pope writes in the *Dunciad*. The figures, not of brass but of Portland stone, are now at the Guildhall Museum.

When in 1671 the ground to the south, vacant after the Great Fire was let out by contract to Theodore Jacobsen, an estimate of the ground rent to be paid for it was made by three experts, of whom Caius Gabriel Cibber was one, the others being Samson Allen and Edward Helder, and they fixed the rent at £110 a year.

In 1678 there is a charge of £10 for a journey to Lyn "to view the great decay of the house there" and for workmen's expenses.

The building on the site of the old Guildhall was still called Guildhall Teutonicorum, and it was let in 1686 at the rate of £30 a year. I find from Lappenberg that it was replaced by warehouses in 1751.

In 1691-92 there are charges for obtaining the King's order for exemption from taxes. The accounts are carried on until 1727, but the later entries are not of special interest.

In their suit with the Jacobsen family the Hanse towns claimed that the value of the lead, iron, bricks, and other material on the site of the Steelyard after the Great Fire, for the preservation of which Jacobsen charged £13, amounted to over £2,865.

To return to the main thread of our story. In 1727 von Hoppmann was succeeded by Henry Elking, a London merchant, presumably of Bremen origin, who in 1741 gave place to his son Martin Elking. Whilst litigation was still proceeding between the Jacobsens and the Hanseatic League, Sir Jacob died on 12th July, 1735, at Walthamstow, where at the time of the inventory his house and lands were said to be perhaps worth £1,500. On 1st March, 1735-36, his widow, with her brother-in-law Theodore, made a written statement before the Court of Chancery, praying that the "legal causes and proceedings" in the action Jacobsen *v.* the Hanse towns might be "revived," and stand in the same condition as they were at the death of her late husband.<sup>a</sup> As this gives an abstract of the legal proceedings to that date it is printed in the Appendix. Her request was granted. In her will, proved 7th September, 1737,<sup>b</sup> she refers to the suit "now depending," "certain merchants of Almain" being defendants, from which she

<sup>a</sup> *Chancery Proceedings*, 1758-1800. Bundle 1911.

<sup>b</sup> *Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, 207. Wake.



expects her estate to derive benefit, and she bequeathes "all interest in the moneys owing by the said merchants" to her two daughters. In February, 1735, she had renounced administration of the estate of Theodore Jacobsen deceased, unadministered by her late husband, in favour of her brother-in-law, Theodore Jacobsen the younger.

In 1745, when the lease of the land on the south side of the Steelyard granted to the first Theodore came to an end, a report was made by the Master in Chancery to whom the rival claims were referred, which report was confirmed by the Lord Chancellor. On the 3rd of February, 1748, the case was finally decided on the report of Master Kinaston, by the representatives of the Hanse towns being ordered to pay the Jacobsen family £3,000 in settlement of all claims.\*

Thus, after many years, the League obtained once more full possession of the property. It appears, however, to have been in a neglected condition, and the Hanse towns had an idea of selling the whole, but, owing to the low price offered, viz. £8,000 to £10,000, this was abandoned. They sold what belonged to them at Lynu. With regard to the London Steelyard, they decided on repairs and rebuilding out of the revenue to the extent of £900, including £80 for the large riverside house.

Profits from cramage had much diminished. The Rhenish wine-house,<sup>b</sup> once so fashionable, by which the property had benefited, appears not to have been revived after the Great Fire, or, if so, from change of fashion it soon died a natural death.

On the other hand the Steelyard came to be used more and more for storage of iron. In 1754, under the skilful management of Martin Elking, the revenue amounted to £1,400, of which £800 were sent to Germany. He held office until 1770. During the later years of his administration the annual income seems to have been about £1,600.

It is perhaps convenient here to add that Theodore Jacobsen, brother of Sir Jacob, and male representative of the family when legal proceedings came to

\* Lappenberg, part i. 138.

<sup>b</sup> There are various references to the Rhenish wine-house in the writings of dramatists and others during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was frequented by Samuel Pepys before the Great Fire. In Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656) he speaks of the Steelyard as "now only famous for Rhenish wines, neats' tongues, &c." but in his editions of 1670 and 1674 he says that it "was lately famous for these luxuries." When describing the state of the Steelyard about the year 1751, Lappenberg says that the site of the Rhenish wine-house had some time before been turned into a store-place for goods.







Theodore Jacobsen  
Architect of the Foundling Hospital

an end, was a merchant, clearly in his earlier days carrying on business in the Steelyard. He latterly resided in Basinghall Street, and practised architecture. Besides other buildings, he designed the Haslar Royal Hospital for Sick Soldiers, at Gosport, and the Foundling Hospital, of which he became a governor. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, of the Society of Arts, and an original Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries after the granting of its charter. He died at an advanced age in 1772, and was buried in the family vault at All Hallows, which was afterwards bricked up according to the direction of his will.\* From this document, proved 7th April, a copy of which is at Somerset House, it appears that he left money to his nephew, Theodore Balthasar Jacobsen, and to his connections by marriage, Josiah Eyles Heathcote and Augusta Utica Heathcote. He several times mentions his deceased sister, Mrs. Verpoorten, whose name he spells without the second "r." There were also legacies to members of the Walton family, one of them probably husband of his niece. He possessed a good many works of art, including family portraits, among them one of Lady Morgan. There is reference to a portfolio with architectural designs of his own, and designs by him engraved on copper plates. His portrait, painted and given by Thomas Hudson to the Foundling Hospital, forms the frontispiece of this paper. (Plate L.)

From the termination of the suit in 1748, I believe that the title of the Hanse towns was never again called in question. It was greatly strengthened in 1798 by an Act of Parliament allowing the League as owners of the Steelyard to redeem the land tax, also by the compensation for encroachment on its landing rights after the West India and London Docks were constructed. The sum paid on this account in 1810 was £5,500. In Pennant's account of London (Fifth Edition, 1813) I read that the Steelyard is "at this time the great repository of imported iron, whence our metropolis is supplied with that necessary material. The quantity of bars, that fill the yards and warehouses of the quarter, strikes with astonishment the most indifferent beholder. Next to the water-side are two eagles, with imperial crowns round their necks placed on two columns." Allen describes it some years later as "a large open space with two wide passages for carts, and stairs for landing iron, of which here are always large quantities kept." He also mentions the merchants' houses and "large warehouses for depositing goods belonging to the East India Company."

The Germans were fortunate in procuring the services of Patrick Colquhoun

\* Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 137 Taverner. His age is not stated in the parish register. In his uncle's will of 1706 he is said to be not 21.



as Resident and Consul-General for Hamburg in 1804. He is said by Lappenberg to have directed the Steelyard with great wisdom and success, and in 1815, on the restoration of freedom to the Hanse towns, after the sway of Napoleon, he was appointed their Consul-General and Master of the Steelyard. Besides holding these offices he was a metropolitan police magistrate, and wrote a good deal on economic questions. His son the Chevalier James Colquhoun succeeded him in 1817 and kept up his connexion with the Hanse towns during many years. James Colquhoun's son, Sir Patrick, author, lawyer, and diplomatist, is remembered at Cambridge through another phase of his versatile career, for while still an undergraduate he founded the Colquhoun Seulls there. Having been called to the Bar, he worked under his father for the Hanseatic League and displayed such ability that he was soon chosen by the Senate of Hamburg to represent them at Constantinople. As Hanse agent, in 1842 and 1843, he concluded commercial treaties with Turkey, Greece, and Persia. During his long life he held various appointments of trust and dignity, among the rest those of Chief Justice of the Ionian Isles, 1861-64, Treasurer of the Inner Temple, and President of the Royal Society of Literature. He wrote a summary of the Roman Civil Law, and treatises on legal and political subjects in different languages, besides various learned papers. He possessed some half-dozen foreign decorations; and when he died in 1891 was head of the clan or sept of Colquhoun, having succeeded his cousin Sir Robert. Mr. Percy Ames wrote a sympathetic notice of him, and he is mentioned in Sir Edward Brabrook's account of the Royal Society of Literature.

Proposals for selling the Steelyard were considered and rejected in 1838. The privilege of landing certain goods before payment of duty was afterwards withdrawn, and the vast development of railways during the next thirty years changed altogether the condition of river-side property in London.

Finally, as I am informed by the General Manager of the South Eastern and London and Chatham Railway Company, on the 4th of April, 1853, the Steelyard estate was sold by the representatives of the Hanse towns, namely Lubeck Bremen and Hamburg, to Mr. Charles Morrison, of London, and Mr. John Pemberton Heywood, a banker of Liverpool, the price paid according to another authority being £72,500. From these gentlemen it was purchased on the 5th of July, 1854, by the Victoria London Dock Company. The conveyance to this Company was subject to a certain arrangement, which had been made by the former owners of the Company with the Lord Mayor and Corporation, for setting back the frontage or building line of the Steelyard estate about 20 feet in Upper Thames Street; a work afterwards carried out that (to make it complete) entailed the destruction of







INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF ALL HALLOWS THE GREAT, UPPER THAMES STREET (NOW DESTROYED.)

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1863.*

the tower and the north aisle of All Hallows. It was also subject to certain contributions, fee-farm rents, and other outgoings, amounting to an annual sum of £58, or thereabouts. The buildings of the Steelyard were pulled down in the autumn of 1863.

The ground was excavated immediately afterwards, and in 1864 the late Mr. J. E. Price read a paper, printed in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*,\* in which he describes in less precise terms than I could wish the discoveries made during these excavations. They included much strong timberwork that had formed part of an ancient river embankment, masses of Roman masonry, some of which probably still remain under the Cannon Street Railway Station, and many relics of Roman and later times.

The Charing Cross Railway Company contracted with the Victoria London Dock Company for the purchase of the fee simple of the whole estate, but, in consequence of the amalgamation of this railway company with the South Eastern, the conveyance was made to the latter company on the 11th of May, 1865. The present amalgamated company pays the City Corporation an annual rent charge of £70 3s. 4d., which we have seen was the rate of payment mentioned in the Act of 1475. The Cannon Street Railway Station covers approximately the whole site of the Steelyard except the strip on the north front cut off for the widening of Upper Thames Street. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Mr. J. C. Robertson for much material help in dealing with the German of Lappenberg. Miss Gertrude Sichel has also kindly assisted me.

#### THE CARVED SCREEN, ALL HALLOWS THE GREAT.

The occupants of the Steelyard do not appear to have had a chapel of their own, or if they did they soon abandoned it. From early times they worshipped in the church of All Hallows the Great hard by the Steelyard, also called by Lappenberg the Seamen's Church, which they endowed and helped to decorate in various ways.

After the Great Fire two of the City churches designed by Sir Christopher Wren were adorned with carved open screens, placed in the positions occupied in mediæval churches by the rood screen. All Hallows the Great and St. Peter's, Cornhill, were the churches thus distinguished, and that of All Hallows was the handsomer of the two. This screen is well shown in the accompanying illustration. Plate LI.) It will be seen that in the opening between the chancel and the

\* (1870), vol. iii. 67.



central passage of the nave is a carved representation of an eagle displayed, which differs from the sculptured eagle on the tablet formerly outside the Steelyard in having a single head and no collar. Above is a cleft pediment, surmounting which are the Royal Arms, not of the time of Queen Anne, as stated by several writers, but of Charles II. In the churchwardens' account book there is an entry on 22nd March, 1683-4, for 5s. 6d. disbursed in putting up the King's Arms, doubtless those in question. The iron supports of the screen were added by an order of the vestry of 22nd October, 1709. Although the screen as shown in our illustration appears symmetrical, in all probability it at first extended through the north aisle, the arches of which were said to have been blocked up in 1736 or 1737 "for the better hearing of the preacher," the aisle afterwards being a mere ambulatory separated from the body of the church. As mentioned on a previous page, this north aisle was destroyed with the tower, on the widening of Upper Thames Street in 1876.

In 1670, four years after the Great Fire, Theodore Jacobsen, with his brother Jacob, who as we have seen, was then house-master, and four others (all described as merchants of London and Germans born), obtained the King's letters patent for the building of a Lutheran church on the site of the destroyed church of Holy Trinity the Less in Trinity Lane, which existed till our own time.<sup>a</sup> Nevertheless, he was intimately connected with All Hallows the Great. When his brother Jacob died he buried him there, though the church was then unfinished, and in due course he put up a monument to him against the south wall, which is now in the church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal.<sup>b</sup> The church of All Hallows the Less

<sup>a</sup> At a meeting of the British Archaeological Association, reported in their *Journal*, vol. xxxii. Mr. Loftus Brock exhibited some fine carved woodwork from this building, afterwards fitted into a German Lutheran church erected at Dalston. This church, known to Germans as the *Hamburger Kirche*, is in Ritson Road close to the German Hospital, and still contains the old carving.

<sup>b</sup> So placed that it is now almost invisible; it has armorial bearings. I copied out the inscription which is in Latin; here and there somewhat obliterated. The following is, I think, a fairly correct translation of it:

"Sacred to the memory of Jacob Jacobsen, a most famous and praiseworthy man, who with the support of the illustrious council of the Hanseatic towns of Germany was a most worthy master and president for 33 years of the Guildhall or house of the same, situated here in the Steelyard. But after the destructive fire of London, as a munificent restorer, he had it rebuilt from its ashes with far greater splendour.

Afterwards in restoring to mother Earth the garniture of mortality, according to the laws of Nature, being buried in this place he left a deep regret for his loss among all good people of whatever class.

To the memory of his dearest brother this monument was erected by Theodore Jacobsen.

Born at Hamburg 26th April, 1619. Died in London 7th November, 1680, aged 61."

had not been rebuilt, its parish being united with that of All Hallows the Great. Perhaps on account of a difficulty about raising funds the completion of the latter was long delayed and it was not opened until the year 1683. The cost of repewing and refitting generally was divided between the two parishes, a pew or pews being assigned to the merchants of the Steelyard as had been the case in the former church. In 1679 Theodore and his brother had between them given £10 to the fund for the internal fittings, and in a vestry book is the following entry dated 17th October, 1682: "Whereas Mr. Theodore Jacobsen of the Steelyard has been pleased to promise to bestow a Pulpit, with a reading desk and clerk's pew, upon the Church of Allhallows, it is ordered that the hearty thanks of the vestry be, in their own name and the name of the said parish, returned to Mr. Jacobsen for so great and signal a kindness towards the church, and that it be entered in the parish book, but no ways prejudicial to the customs of the Steelyard." We may, I think, accept it as a fact that the pulpit was given by him. This is the beautiful pulpit with its equally fine sounding board having an eagle among the adornments, which remained at All Hallows till the end. Shortly after the sale of that church, 31st July, 1894, they went to St. Margaret's, Lothbury, but unfortunately they have now been divorced. The sounding board is placed above a pulpit at St. Margaret's, with which it by no means harmonizes, while the pulpit has gone astray to a church at Hammersmith. Theodore Jacobsen was, on 11th April, 1694, chosen a vestryman, and in his will expressly desired to be buried at All Hallows, thus confirming the evidence that he had for it a strong feeling of attachment.

It appears to be Malcolm, at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the work called *Londinium Redivivum*, who first affirms that the All Hallows screen was the gift of the Hanse merchants and was made in Hamburg, and many writers have followed his lead, but there is no doubt that it is English, resembling as it does other work of the period with which we are familiar.

An account book of All Hallows the Less reveals the fact that a few days before the opening of the new church the vestry of that parish gave authority to Jacob Foster and Thomas Dade to agree with the parishioners of All Hallows the Great about "payinge ye half charge for ye screene." However, the accounts show that the united parishes did not spend enough to cover the cost of the screen and pulpit, and there is no further allusion to payment for either. The Hanseatic League, which gave no help towards the rebuilding of the Steelyard, and did not even pay the house-master's salary, certainly contributed nothing. How, then, was the money for the screen provided?



Mr. Allen S. Walker, who has made an intimate study of the subject, pointed out to me some time ago that in the Records of the London Consistory Court for 1739, there is an account of a trial between the parishes of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less, to decide a dispute as to the proportion that each ought to pay of money that had been laid out for repairs. In the course of the trial, John Wright, who had been clerk and writing master of the two parishes for nearly twenty years, said that he had heard and believed that Mr. Jacobsen had erected the screen at his own expense. Another witness, George Smith, gave corroborative evidence. We know that he was well to do; his great interest in the church has been shown in various ways. It is therefore morally certain that the money, both for screen and pulpit, was provided by Theodore Jacobsen.

Lappenberg speaks of Hanseatic merchants retaining their seats at All Hallows in 1749. A pew was certainly reserved for their agent during the earlier years of the nineteenth century. The old pews remained until the end. The church was pulled down shortly after its sale in 1894, the site passing into the hands of the neighbouring brewery. The modern vestry and part of the churchyard remain.

#### A NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

The series of eight watercolour paintings of the Steelyard executed by John Wykeham Archer shortly before its destruction are among the best topographical works of the kind known to the writer. They formed part of the Twopenny collection, bought for the British Museum, March, 1874, and are now there in the Print Room. Reproductions from five of these are given to illustrate this paper. (Plates LII., LIII. and Fig. 2.) In that showing the front of the Steelyard (Plate LII. 2), the open archway with the sculptured stone over it is on the site of the entrance to Windgoose Lane. The church tower is that of All Hallows the Great. Two other views called "Warehouses" (Plate LIII.) show seventeenth-century buildings, and bars of iron lying about. From the other two views we find that the mediæval building was not entirely destroyed in the Great Fire. To *Once a Week*, vol. v. (1861) Wykeham Archer contributed an illustrated article on the Steelyard. He therein says: "Some remains of masonry of Caen stone, with a large early English doorway, still exist in a building which seems to correspond in situation with a chapel-like edifice, which is shown in the large and remarkably fine drawing of London taken in the reign of Henry the Eighth by Van den Wyngaerde." In one of his illustrations, which is copied in line and



1. MEDIÆVAL WALL IN THE STEELYARD } (From water-colour drawings  
2. THE STEELYARD FROM UPPER THAMES ST. } by T. Wykeham Archer.)







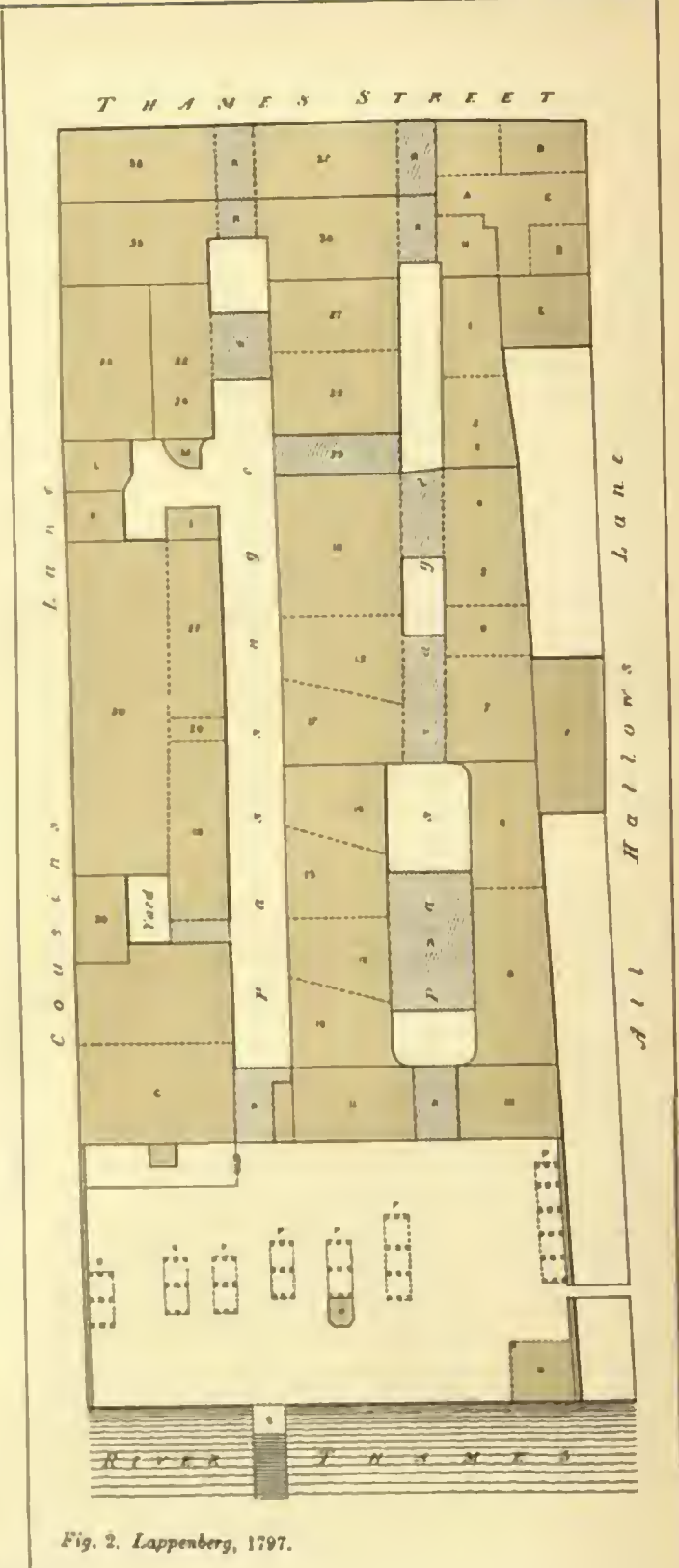
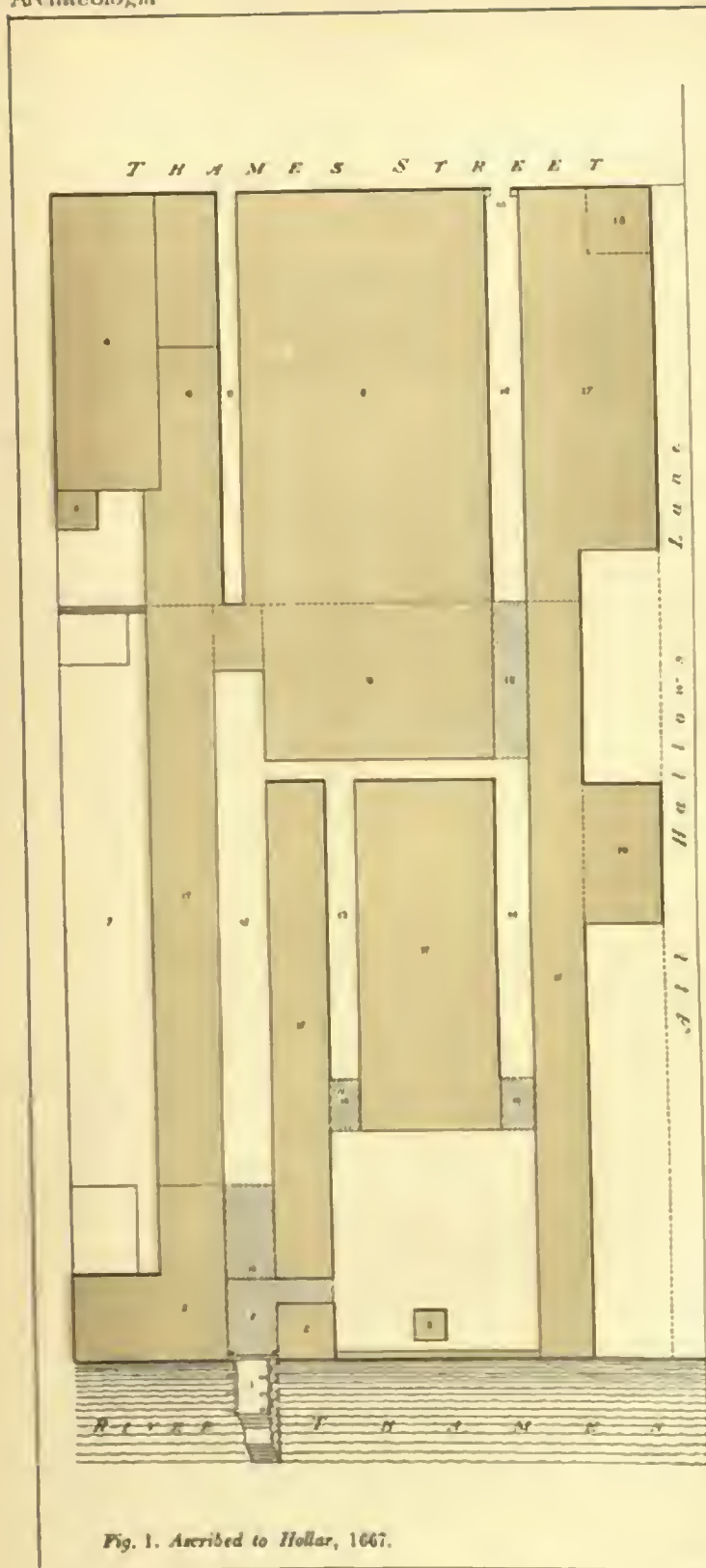
WAREHOUSES IN THE STEELYARD. (From water-colour drawings by T. Wykeham Archer.)











Scale of Feet  
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200

GROUND PLANS OF THE STEELYARD.

incorporated in the text (fig. 2), this Gothic arch appears filled up with brick. In the second we see a wall adjoining it. (Plate LII. 1.) According to Archer, this was 40 feet long and about 14 feet high, "composed of small well-dressed cubes of stone, every third course topped with a binding course of squared flints." He adds that there were three buttresses stepped at the tops, and between them were

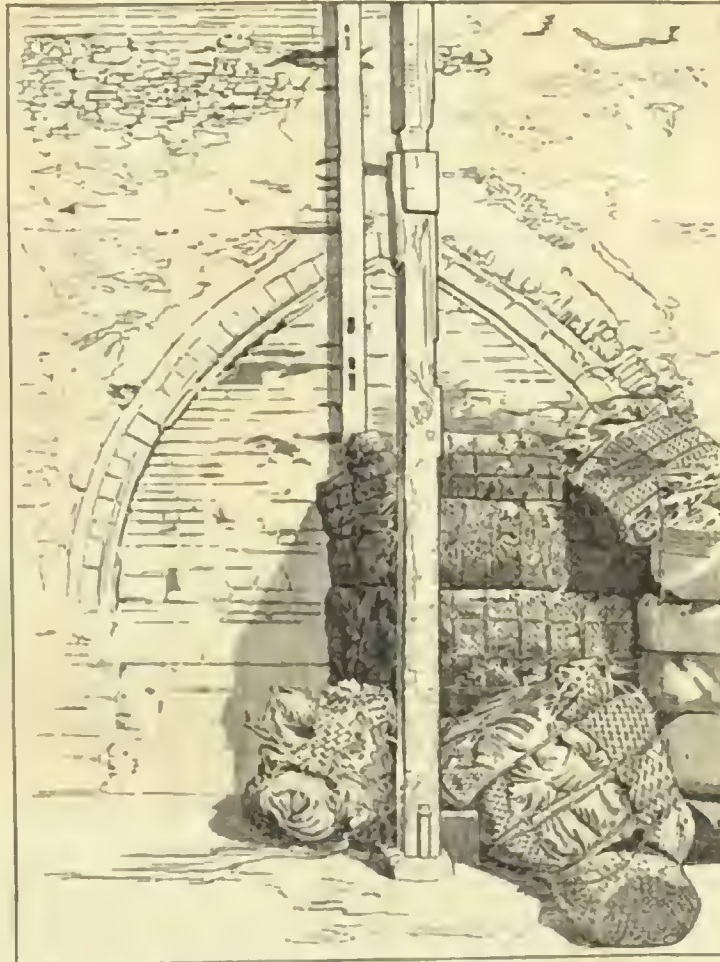


Fig. 2. Medieval arch formerly in the Steelyard.

plain corbels. The wall was on the west side of the property and "in a line with the building of the thirteenth century, conceived to have been the chapel, running southward towards the Thames." It should be remembered that the original property of the Germans was towards Dowgate, immediately east of the still existing Cosin Lane, and that it gradually extended eastward.

The two ground-plans (Plate LIV.), redrawn from Lappenberg, give some



idea of the changes at the rebuilding. The figures on them refer to descriptive titles of which we here give translations. Those belonging to the plan of 1667, which is ascribed by Lappenberg to Hollar (and evidently represents the Steelyard before the Great Fire), are as follows: No. 1, Steps down to the Thames; 2, the House-master's Quarters; 3, the Crane and Quay; 4, the Hall or Aula Teutonicorum; 5, the Tower; 6, the Council Chamber; 7, the Garden; 8, the Rhenish Winehouse; 9, the Winter Apartment; 10, the Steelyard Gate; 11, Windgoose Lane or Alley; 12, Way to the Thames; 13, the Central Passage; 14, Passage to Thames Street; 15, the Corner House by All Hallows Church; 16, Houses in All Hallows Lane; 17, Dwellings and Warehouses; 18, Chambers over the Passages.

The plan of 1797 is mostly lettered: *a* and *c* refer to the Dwelling House of Mr. Pearson; *b* is the Publichouse of J. Barker; *d*, the Dwelling House of W. Bampton; *e*, the Dwelling House of Edward Eames; *f*, the Warehouse facing All Hallows Lane; *g*, the Head Office on the Wharf; *n*, the Porter's

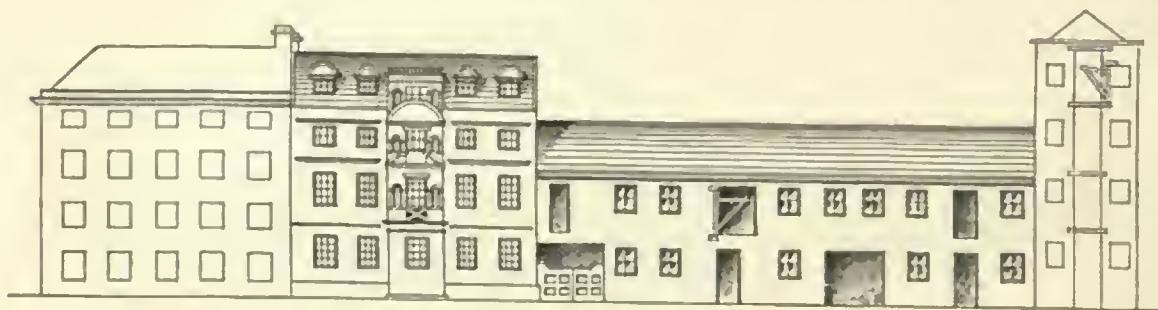


Fig. 3. Elevation of the Steelyard from the river Thames.

Lodge; *i*, the Counting House; *k*, the Coachman's Room, now Parcels Room; *l*, the Stabling; *m*, the Manure Pit; *s*, the Crane and Counting House; *o*, the Counting House on the Wharf; *p*, appears in Lappenberg's Plan as "Horses Eisenlager," the reader can decide for himself what is the meaning; *q* are Steps to the Thames; *r*, a Covered Way; and 1 to 38, Warehouses.

The two plans by no means agree in form though representing the same piece of ground. On comparing them with modern maps it is clear that they are both inaccurate, one being too long and narrow, the other too short; nor do the positions of the buildings on the ground-plan of 1797 agree with those shown in the elevation from the river (fig. 3). In each case we have merely copied the illustrations in Lappenberg's book. The view of the Hanseatic arms (fig. 1) is from a photograph by Miss E. C. Parr, of Bromley, Kent.

APPENDIX.

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CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS, 1714-1758. BUNDLE 471.

[Abstract.]

JACOBSON v. HANSE TOWNS.

17th June 1721.

The complaint of Sir Jacob Jacobson, of the city of London, and Theodore Jacobson, of the same, merchants. States that the merchants of Almaine, being under and of the confederacy, liege, and company of the Dutch Hanse otherwise called merchants of Almaine residing in England, commonly called the Hanse Townes, being possessed of, interested in or entitled to a certain piece of ground in or near Thames Street, in the parish of Allhallows the Great, in the ward of Dowgate, called the Stilehoffe *alias* Stileyard, whereupon were erected several messuages or tenements, the said Hanse Towns did about 31 July 1647 appoint Jacob Jacobson, late of London, merchant, since deceased, their agent or house master, to take care of the said premises for them and to let and set the same, and to receive the rents and profits thereof; and did agree to allow the said Jacob Jacobson a salary of £40 per annum, and also a house and some warehouses for his own use, free of rent in such manner as his predecessors, who had been agents for the Hanse Towns, had been allowed. The said Jacob Jacobson accordingly entered upon the said Stileyard and acted as agent for the Hanse Towns until his death in November 1680.

The complainants say that the Hanse Towns taking notice in their instructions given to the said Jacob Jacobson, deceased, that several of the houses standing on the Stileyard were very much out of repair, did give the said Jacob Jacobson orders to have the same viewed in order to have them repaired, which he accordingly did, and repaired the same pursuant to his instructions, in doing which he laid out great sums of money. And the complainants go on to say that in the late great dreadful fire of London, which happened about 2 September 1666, all the buildings upon the Stileyard were burned down to the ground, and the said Jacob Jacobson, deceased, wrote to the Hanse Towns to acquaint them thereof, and to have their orders whether he should rebuild the same or not. And after he had written several letters to the Hanse Towns, in some of which he acquainted them that if they did not take care to have the premises rebuilt within the time appointed for rebuilding the city of London by Act of Parliament, their right to the said premises would be forfeited, at last the said Hanse



Towns did by letter under the seals of the cities of Lubeck, Bremen and Hamburgh bearing date 5 March 1670 authorize the said Jacob Jacobson to treat with such person or persons as would take a lease or leases of the said ground or part thereof for a term not exceeding 40 years, at a certain ground rent, and build thereon. And the said Jacob Jacobson endeavoured to let the said ground but could not find anyone who would undertake to build upon the same for so short a term as forty years, and to give such rent as the surveyor for the Hanse Towns insisted that the same was worth. And the said Jacob Jacobson by letter dated 21 June 1670 acquainted the said Hanse Towns of this, and also told them that one John Bales (Ball) had offered to build upon a piece of ground fronting Thames Street, part of the premises, on a term of fifty-one years, with such materials as the Act of Parliament for rebuilding the city of London directed, at 9s. per foot per annum ground rent, and that he was advised not to let that opportunity slip, and therefore had agreed with the said Bales for a lease of part of the said ground to commence within three weeks after the Hanse Towns should approve of such agreement. The said Jacob Jacobson pursuant to such agreement caused three drafts of three several leases of three several parcels of ground, part of the said Stileyard ground, to be drawn up, all which said leases were dated 14 October 1670, and were for the term of fifty-one years to commence from 20 June 1670, the several yearly rents together amounting to £71 11s. per annum. And the Hanse Towns did by their letter under the seals of the cities of Lubeck, Bremen and Hamburgh approve of the said leases, and by another letter dated 6 July 1670 did ratify the same. And the said Jacob Jacobson, together with John Lemknell and George Matson, merchants of Almaine, who had full power for that purpose, did by indenture dated 17 May 1670 demise another parcel of ground, part of the Stileyard ground, to Richard Sherwood for the term of sixty-one years, to commence from 24 June 1670 at the yearly rent of £80. And by another indenture dated 9 November 1670, they also demised another parcel of ground part of the Stileyard ground to John Fitch for fifty-one years from 21 September 1671, at the yearly rent of £5.

The complaints go on to say that the said Jacob Jacobson, by letter dated 25 March 1671, acquainted the Hanse Towns that for the remaining ground he could not meet with anyone who would undertake to build thereon for a shorter lease than ninety-nine years, and also reminded them of the danger of forfeiting the said ground, and pressed them to assist him with some money in order to make a beginning, or to pay him what they owed him, saying that he would lay the money out in building upon their ground "in expectation of having the future income thereof."

This letter having no effect, the said Jacobson went himself to Hamburgh and presented a memorial to the city to the same purpose. After his return to England he received instruction from the Hanse Towns dated 16 November 1674, to treat for a term not exceeding seventy years, on condition that the tenants should at the end of that time deliver up the houses built thereon in good repair, and that if the Hanse Towns should at any time within that term repay to the tenants the cost of the buildings, the said tenants should deliver up the houses built, and account for the profit thereof; but the said Jacobson could not find anyone to agree with these terms.

Therefore Theodore Jacobson, deceased, brother of the said Jacob, out of respect to the Hanse Towns and to prevent the said ground being forfeited, offered to build on the remaining part of the said Stileyard ground at his own charges; and accordingly by a decree in the Court of Judicature dated 31 October 1673 the said Theodore obtained an estate of forty years in the said premises from the Michaelmas before the date of the decree at the rent of one peppercorn for the first year and three-quarters of the said term, and for the remainder of the term at the yearly rent of £110.

And the said Jacob Jacobson, John Leinkuell and George Matson, by indenture dated 29 July 1674, demised the said ground to Theodore Jacobson for the further term of thirty-one years, commencing from the expiration of the said term of forty years, at the rent of £110 per annum.

The complainants further state that on the 13th November 1680 the said Jacob Jacobson died, at which time the Hanse Towns were in his debt to the amount of £1,740 4s. 1d. Theodore Jacobson, brother of the said Jacob, by letter dated 16 November 1680, acquainted the Hanse Towns of the death of the said Jacob and offered his services to them in place of his late brother, acquainting them also that he had completed the buildings on the Stileyard ground so as to preserve their right and property therein, and offering, if they would then pay him what he had expended on the said buildings with the interest for the same, to surrender up his lease to them. The Hanse Towns having returned no reply to this letter, the said Theodore Jacobson sent them another letter dated 2nd February 1680[-1] reporting the contents of his former letter and giving them an estimate of the cost of the said buildings, with an attestation of substantial surveyors of the strength of the same, together with an account of what they owed to his brother Jacob Jacobson, deceased. On 7 July 1681 the Hanse Towns replied in writing under the seals of Lubeck, Bremen and Hamburg, desiring the said Theodore Jacobson to take care in preserving their privileges and immunities, acknowledging the receipt of Jacob Jacobson's account, and saying that about the payment thereof "they would agree amongst themselves," as also about the offer made them by the said Theodore, and would declare to him their resolutions thereon. The said Theodore afterwards by several letters earnestly intreated to know their resolution whether they would repay him the money he had expended or else let him enjoy the premises during the several terms granted him, and also desired that they would pay the £1,740 4s. 1d. with interest, but the Hanse Towns "never thought fitt" to send him any answer. And the said Theodore Jacobson by indenture of assignment dated 21 December 1704, between Theodore Jacobson of the one part and the complainants of the other part, did sell and assign the said houses and premises by him built in the said Stileyard, to hold to the complainants, their executors, etc. from the death of the said Theodore for and during the remainder of the said term then to come. The complainants further say that the magistracy of Lubeck, by letters dated 7 May 1705, required of the said Theodore Jacobson an account of the condition of the Stileyard and in what state the buildings were kept, and also copies of the contracts made by the said Jacob Jacobson; in reply to which Theodore Jacobson, by letter dated 8 June 1705, reported what he had formerly written with regard to his offer concerning his buildings in the Stileyard.



and complained that he had not received any resolutions from them thereon, but the said Theodore never received any answer from them to that letter.

The complainants say that the said Theodore Jacobson, deceased, during the time he acted as agent for the Hanse Towns, expended on account of the said Hanse Towns several considerable sums of money, which together with his salary and an allowance for house rent and other privileges allowed to former Hanse Town agents ought to have been allowed to the said Theodore out of the rents of the said premises. And the said Theodore Jacobson died about 17 July 1706, having made his will dated June 1706, and thereby constituted the complainant Sir Jacob Jacobson sole executor, who has duly proved the same and taken upon himself the execution thereof, and has ever since acted as agent for the said Hanse Towns, and has laid out for the said Hanse Towns for repairing the said premises and for other charges several considerable sums of money, all which ought to be allowed out of the rents and profits of the said premises.

The complainants say that letters of administration of the goods, etc. of the said Jacob Jacobson, deceased, have been granted to the complainant Theodore Jacobson, whereby he is entitled to receive of the Hanse Towns the said sum of £1,740 4s. 1d. with interest, no part of which has ever been paid either to the said Theodore Jacobson in his lifetime nor to the complainants Sir Jacob Jacobson and Theodore Jacobson since his death; but they permitted the said Theodore Jacobson during his lifetime and the complainants since his death to take the rents of the said premises without interruption until very lately, and the complainants hoped they would be permitted to continue so to do until the £1,740 4s. 1d. with interest and all the money laid out for the Hanse Towns by the said Theodore in his lifetime and the complainant since his death had been repaid.

But the Hanse Towns confederating with Edward Clive of London, gentleman, and divers other persons whose names are unknown to the complainants, to defraud the complainants, have caused declarations in ejectment to be delivered to all the tenants in possession of the said premises in the name of Edward Clive, gentleman as their lessee, to compel the said tenants to appear in the Court of Common Pleas and threaten to turn the said tenants out of possession or to compel them to attorn tenants of the Hanse Towns, although the said Hanse Towns have never paid any of the money laid out on the said houses.

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21st November 1722.

THE ANSWER OF THE HANSE TOWNS TO THE BILL OF COMPLAINT OF SIR JACOB JACOBSON  
AND THEODORE JACOBSON.

The defendants say that the Hanse Towns were heretofore possessed of the piece of ground called the Stileyard, and also known by the name of "Old Guildhall" or "Aula

Tentonicorum," and also of several messuages and tenements thereon built; and that upon the resignation of Conrade Strickholtz, house-master and agent for the said Hanse Towns about the time mentioned in the complainant's bill, they did appoint Jacob Jacobson their house-master and agent, and agreed that he should receive the usual salary of £40 per annum, and the use of as many chambers and warehouses rent free as his predecessors had done, "which salary he was yearly to take out of the said stileyard." And the said Jacob Jacobson undertook that he "with the advice of an understanding master builder" would view those buildings which needed repair and make a calculation as to how such repairs might best be carried out, and also that he would let out the houses, chambers and warehouses at the highest rate that could be got for them, for the benefit of the Hanse Towns, keeping an account of what rent he received, and also of what money he disbursed on necessary repairs. The said Jacob Jacobson accordingly entered upon the Stileyard and continued to act as agent for the said Hanse Towns until his death in November, 1680. The defendants believe that the said Jacob Jacobson disbursed several sums of money on repairs, also that he sent letters to them desiring to have their directions as to the rebuilding of the houses on the Stileyard after the great fire in 1666, but they say that they "could not come to any speedy resolutions what to doe in the affaire," and at last sent orders that contracts should be taken for the rebuilding on the conditions stated in the bill.

After admitting a great part of the statements in the bill to be true, the defendants say that they have reason to suspect that it was more out of "private views of profit and interest to himself" than out of regard for the benefit to the Hanse Towns that Theodore Jacobson offered to build on the Stileyard at his own charges. And they further say that the decree mentioned in the bill was obtained, and the lease for a further term of years granted by Jacob Jacobson, John Lemkuell and George Matson was made without any authority from the said Hanse Towns; but that they do not wish to controvert the validity of such decree or lease and are willing that the descendants of the said Theodore Jacobson should hold the said premises for the remainder of the term therein yet to come, upon payment of the rent agreed upon by the said lease and performance of the covenants therein contained, to the effect that the houses and buildings so demised should be kept in sufficient repair, and that if the ground rent of £110 should not be paid, the defendants should enter the said premises and turn out the said Theodore Jacobson or his assigns.

The defendants say that the last account they received from Jacob Jacobson deceased was dated June 1666, and that he deducted his yearly salary of £40 and also whatever else he claimed to be due to him from ground rents received. And they deny that they were indebted to the said Jacob Jacobson in anywise at the time of his death. They say further that Theodore Jacobson made mention in a letter dated 2 February 1680-1, that he had lately been distrained by the officials of the city of London for £10, which remained due on account of the charges demanded upon the Stileyard, and at the same time sent in an account of what he pretended to be the expenses of the Stileyard from 1666 to 1680. The Hanse Towns on the 7 July 1680 returned answer to the last mentioned letter of Theodore Jacobson, demanding a more particular account to be sent them of the condition of the Stileyard, and saying that they



could then agree amongst themselves concerning the appointment of a house-master. In the said letter the Hanse Towns enclosed a letter to "his then Majesty" on account of the distress in relation to the burden or charges on the Stileyard, and desired the said Theodore Jacobson to deliver the same and to use his utmost endeavour that a favourable resolution might be obtained and the Stileyard preserved in its privileges and liberties.

The defendants deny that they ever appointed the said Theodore Jacobson, deceased, to be their house-master or agent, and say that the reasons which induced them to grant such office to the said Jacob Jacobson failed after the rebuilding of the Stileyard, as the principal duty of the house-master or agent was to take care of the repairs and letting out of the buildings on the Stileyard, which after the rebuilding were let out on long leases, the tenants covenanting to keep and yield up the same in good repair. They say further that any money laid out upon repairs by the said Theodore Jacobson was laid out on his own account. They go on to say that as to the sum of £1,740 4s. 1d. and interest claimed to be due to the complainant, the particular items that make up that balance remain unadjusted, and were never verified and made out by proper vouchers; and that there is besides at the beginning of the said account, a balance of £1,672 19s. 6d. brought in as the balance due on the preceding account, though when the debts specified on the other side of the account were brought in the balance would appear to be no more than £1,431 10s. And the said Jacob Jacobson, both by letter and by the memorial delivered by him at Hamburgh, mentioned that he had till that time subsisted upon the effects and materials that were saved out of the said fire, and yet none of these goods were brought into the said account. And also several burdens and charges payable yearly were charged in that account as paid, when no proof was made how the same did arise, and that the orders given to the said Jacob Jacobson were that the tenants contracting for leases of any part of the Stileyard should pay the public burdens or charges *pro rata* according to the yearly rent reserved. And Theodore Jacobson did by the same account charge £50 per annum in a lump together to be allowed him for dwelling, extraordinary expenses, boats and coach-hire, postage for letters and the like, though there was never any agreement for such allowances.

The defendants admit it to be true that they caused a declaration of ejectment to be delivered in the name of Edward Clive, in order to recover possession of such of the said houses whereof the leases are determined as is just and reasonable for them to do.

The defendants deny that the complainant Sir Jacob Jacobson has since the death of Theodore Jacobson acted as their agent or laid out money for them.

They say that they requested and impowered the Hon. John Gerrard Hoffman Hoppmann, counsellor to the Duke of Wolfenbüttele and resident to the Duke of Holstein at "his Britannick Majesty's court" in Great Britain, to act for the said Hanse Towns in relation to the premises aforesaid, and to call all the tenants to account and not to permit the said Jacob Jacobson to receive any more of the rents and profits thereof.

There is a second answer of the Hanse Towns on 17th March, 1723-24, recorded in the Chancery Proceedings, another on the 18th June, 1724, and a rejoinder from the Jacobsens on

the 17th October of the same year. Among the Chancery Orders is one of 9th July, 1726, in which it is decreed that the plaintiffs and defendants do go to an account before Mr. Kinaston, and that "in taking the said account Theodore Jacobsen deceased is to be considered from the death of Jacob Jacobsen to his own death as house-master of the Steelyard, and is to have an allowance of £40 per annum in respect thereof, and of £30 per annum for his habitation, as also an allowance for his extraordinary expenses, but the plaintiff, Sir Jacob Jacobsen, is not to be considered as house-master from the death of the said Theodore, but is to have an allowance for all moneys expended by him for the defendants the Hanse towns, as also for his labour and pains on their behalf.

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CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS, 1758-1800. BUNDLE 1911.

[Abstract.]

JACOBSON v. HANSE TOWNS.

1st March 1735-6.

Complaint of Anne Jacobson, widow, and sole executrix of the will of Sir Jacob Jacobson, knight, deceased, and Theodore Jacobson of London, merchant, administrator of all the rights, debts, credits, goods and chattels of Theodore Jacobson, late of London, merchant, deceased, which were unadministered by the said late Sir Jacob Jacobson, sole executor of the will of the said late Theodore Jacobson, against the Hanse Towns.

States that the said late Sir John Jacobson and the complainant Theodore Jacobson in the right of the said Sir Jacob and also as the representatives of Jacob Jacobson and the said Theodore Jacobson, both deceased, about Trinity term 1721, exhibited a bill in this court against the Hanse Towns concerning money due to the said Jacob and Theodore Jacobson for their respective salaries as house-masters of the Stylhoffe or Stillyard in Thames Street, Allhallows the Great, in the ward of Dowgate, London, belonging to the Hanse Towns, and to the said Sir Jacob for money advanced by the said Sir Jacob, Theodore and Jacob Jacobson, and for money laid out in repairs to the said premises and for other purposes. To this bill the Hanse Towns put in their answers, and about Easter 1722 the said Hanse Towns filed a bill of complaint in this court against the said Sir Jacob and Theodore Jacobson for a general account touching the premises, to which bill the said Sir Jacob and Theodore Jacobson made answer, and submitted to go to account and otherwise to do as is in the said answer mentioned. Issue was joined therein and witnesses being examined on both sides and publication duly passed, both the causes came on to be heard on the 9th July 1726, when it was decreed, among other things, that both the plaintiffs and defendants should go to an account before Master Kinaston, one of the masters of this court, from the foot of the account dated 31 December 1680, which was to be taken as a stated account and not to be "unravell'd into," and all books



of accounts, papers and writings which related thereto were to be produced upon oath before the said master, and examinations made.

The complainants further show that considerable progress was made in taking the said accounts until the Hanse Towns appealed from the said decree of this court to the House of Lords, upon the hearing of which appeal about 22 February 1728, it was ordered by the House of Lords that the said decree should be confirmed, with the addition that the appellants should have liberty so far to unravel the said account of 31 December 1680 as to surcharge or falsify the same except as to the articles concerning extraordinary expenses and incidental charges. The parties proceeded on the said account before the said master, but before the account was taken, namely, about 12 July 1735, Sir Jacob Jacobson died, whereby the suits were abated.

The complainants therefore pray that the Hanse Towns may show cause why the said causes and proceedings therein should not be revived and stand in the same condition as they were at the death of the said Sir Jacob Jacobson.

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CHANCERY ORDERS, 1735A, p. 263.

26th March 1736.

Order that the bill of revivor exhibited by Dame Ann Jacobson in Hilary term 1735, stand revived and be in the same plight and condition as they were at the time of the death of Sir Jacob Jacobson.

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PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY. 149 EEDES.

WILL OF THEODORE JACOBSEN, OF LONDON, MERCHANT.

12th June 1706.

Usual committal.

Desires to be buried in the parish church of All Hallows The Great, Thames Street, "about eight of the clock in the evening."

Whereas I have heretofore (by indenture, bearing date 21 December 1704) assigned unto my nephews Jacob and Theodore Jacobson, all my tofts, soyle, ground, messuages, tenements,

warehouses, erections and buildings, situate in the Seite Holfe (sic) *alias* Stillyard in Thames Street in the parish of All Hallows in Dowgate Ward, and all my estate, right, title, interest and term of years yet to come, claim and demand therein and thereunto for all the residue of the several terms of years which I had therein to the several uses, interests and purposes, and upon the severall provisoes, trusts and confidences therein particularly mentioned and expressed, in which said indenture is contained amongst other things a provisoe to this effect following:

That my said nephews Jacob and Theodore or such of them as should from time to time be in possession of the premises by virtue of the same indenture, and his or their executors should yearly and during the continuance of the several term of years in the same indenture mentioned (if Anna Jacobsen my sister should so long live) well and truly pay to her or her assigns out of the rents and profits, the sum of £200 by four equal quarterly payments. Now I do hereby confirm the said indenture of assignment and all provisoes and things therein contained, and over and above the yearly sum of £200 I give and bequeath to my said sister Ann Jacobsen one other annuity of £200 during her natural life to be paid by quarterly payments out of personal estate. Also the said Ann Jacobson to be allowed to inhabit "all that forepart of my now dwelling house that fronts upon the river of Thames" and to use all household goods, pictures, etc., and to have the custody of all plate and jewells during her life, and at her death to bequeath the fourth part thereof to the children of "my late nephew Henry Jacobson, deceased," the remainder of all household goods, plate, jewelry, etc. I bequeath to my nephews Jacob and Theodore Jacobsen.

Bequeaths £4,000, the moiety of £8,000, to Theodore Jacobson to carry on "a joint trade," [nature not specified] with his brother Jacob Jacobson, heretofore carried on by testator, and also £5,000 to be paid to him out of personal estate "which is not in co-partnership with my said nephew Jacob Jacobson," when he attains the age of twenty-one years. If the said Theodore should die before attaining the said age, then the £5,000 to be equally divided between Jacob Jacobson, nephew, and Edell Engell Verpoorton, wife of John Henry Verpoorton of London, merchant, or their children.

Bequeaths certain annuities issuing out of Her Majesty's Exchequer, amounting to £153 1s. 6d. per annum, to nephews Jacob and Theodore, in trust for said niece Verpoorton, and after her decease in trust for any children that she may have, and if she should have no children living, then in trust for Theodore Balthasar, and Ann Eleanora Jacobson, son and daughter of late nephew Henry Jacobsen, deceased.

To Gardruth Bodham of Lynn Regis, county Norfolk, niece, widow, an annuity of £30 to be paid by said nephews Jacob and Theodore out of the profits issuing out of the messuages, tenements, warehouses, erections and buildings in the Stillyard aforesaid.

Several small money legacies for mourning.

"I give to every of the trustees to whom I conveyed the church or temple in Trinity Lane commonly called the High German Church or Lutheran Church, 40/- apiece to buy them rings."

To the President and Governors of Christ's Hospitall, £25, to the President and Governors



of St. Bartholomew's, £25, to the Governors of the Workhouse in Bishopsgate Street, £10, to the churchwardens of the parish of All Hallows the Great, £10.

The residue of estate to be divided into four equal parts, and bequeathed as follows :

One fourth part to Jacob Jacobson, nephew.

" " Theodore Jacobson, "

" " Edell Engell Verpoorton, niecc.

" " be equally divided between Theodore Balthasar Jacobsen and  
Anna Eleannora Jacobsen.

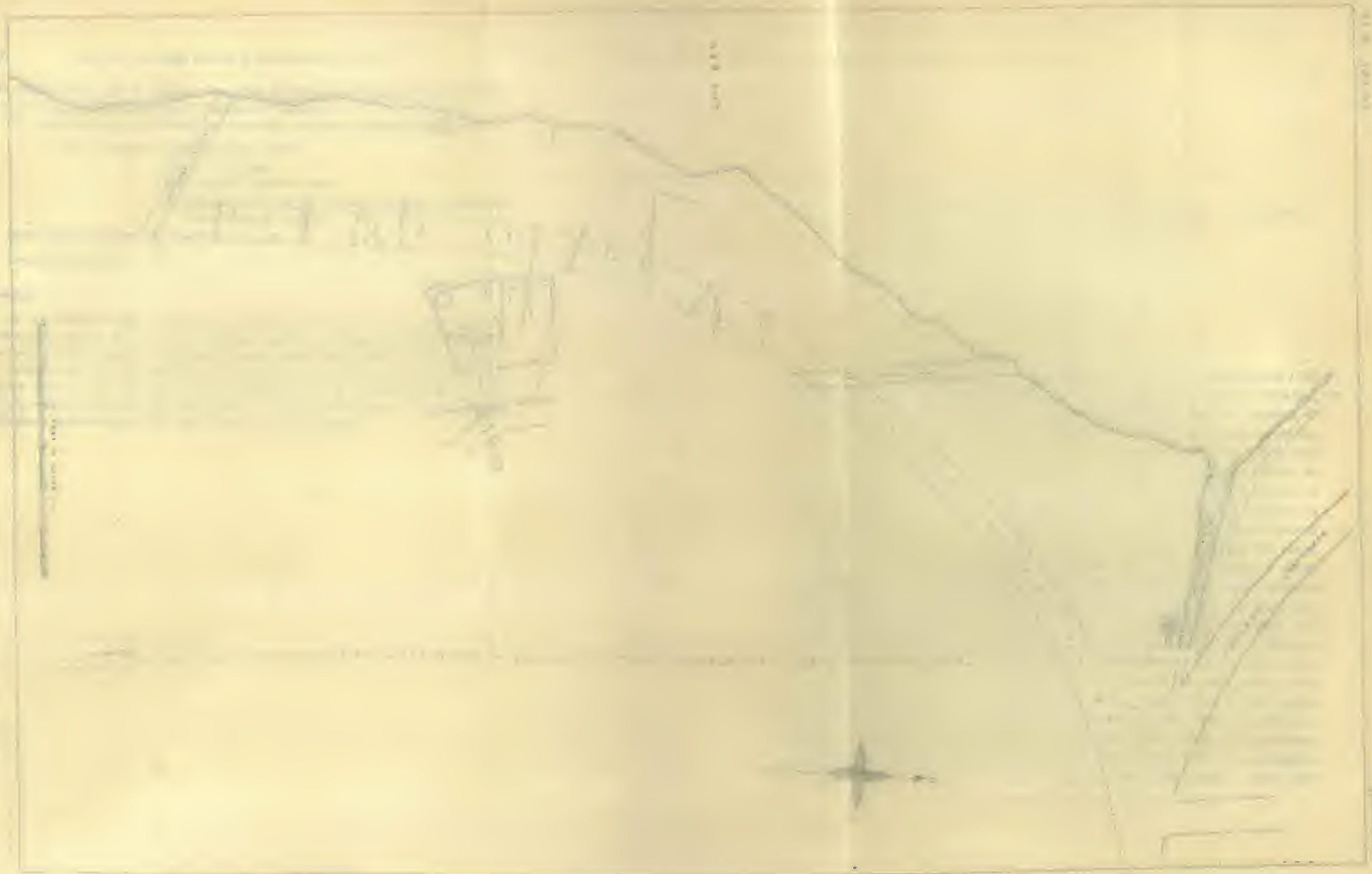
Jacob Jacobsen, nephew, appointed sole executor.

Proved 27 July 1706.

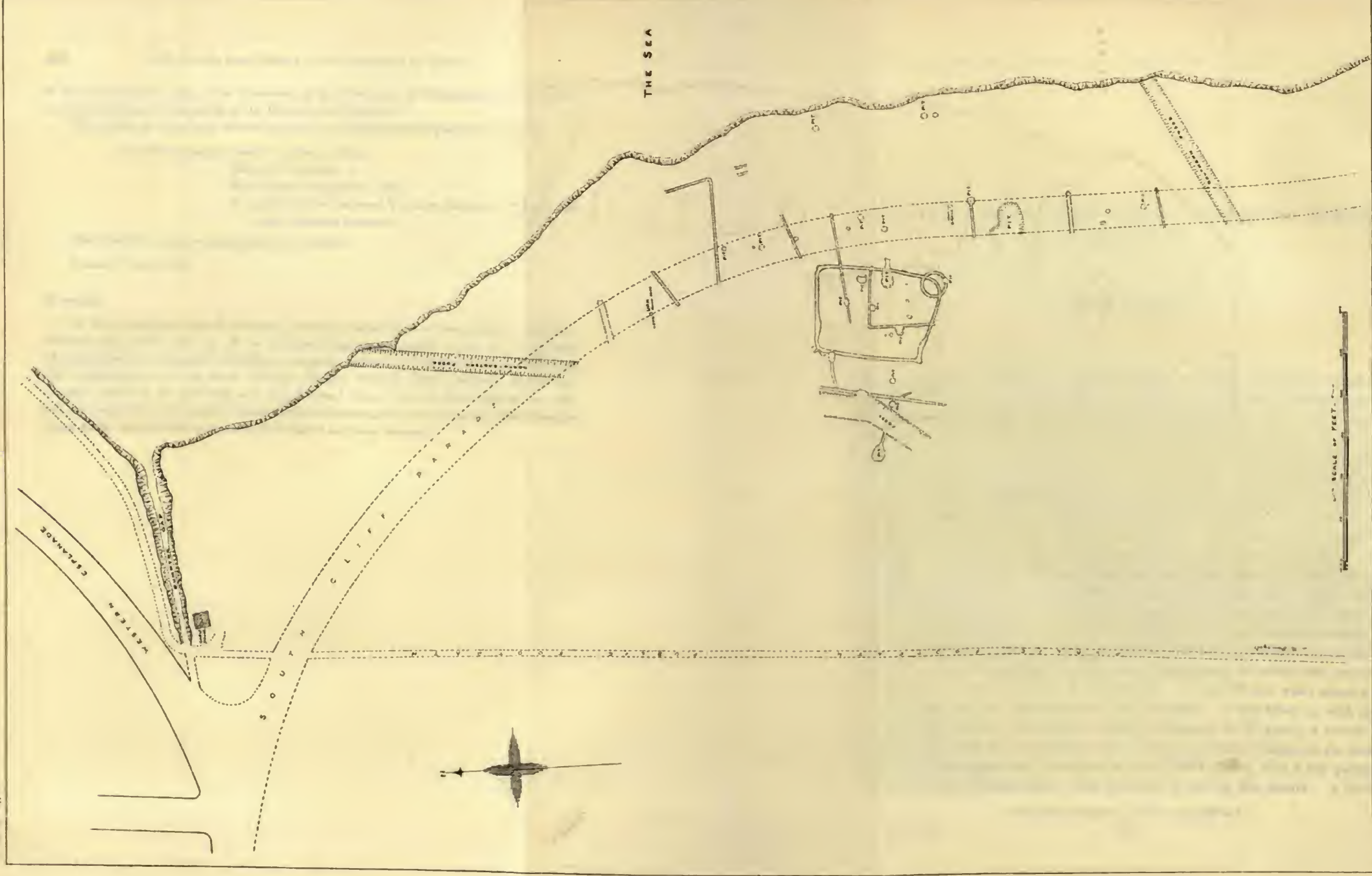
In margin :

On the twenty-first day of February, 1735-[6], issued forth a commission to Theodore Jacobsen, the nephew and one of the residuary legatees nominated in the will of the said Theodore Jacobsen, deceased, to administer the goods, chattels and credits of the said deceased, left unadministered by Sir Jacob Jacobsen, knight, formerly Jacob Jacobsen, esquire, sole executor named in the said will, now also deceased, Dame Anne Jacobsen, widow, the relict and sole executrix of the said Sir Jacob Jacobsen, deceased, first renouncing the administration of the goods unadministered of the said Theodore Jacobsen, deceased.

APPROXIMATE AND NOTED BY THE SURVEYOR OF THE TERRITORY OF ALASKA







PLAN OF LATE-CELTIC VILLAGE NEAR DUMPTON GAP, BROADSTAIRS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1909

XVI.—*On a Late-Celtic Village near Dumpton Gap, Broadstairs.* By HOWARD  
HURD, Esq., C.E.\*

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Read 27th May, 1909.

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IN the summer of 1907, during the construction of a new road (called South Cliff Parade) situated on top of the cliffs, at a distance of about 40 yards from the sea, between Dumpton Gap and East Cliff Lodge, there was found a number of V-shaped trenches cut in the chalk subsoil, and running transversely across the site of the road. They came into view as soon as the loamy soil, which was about 12 inches in depth, was removed from the surface of the ground. Prior to the construction of the road the land had been in cultivation, and there was no evidence whatever on the surface, in the shape of mounds or depressions, to indicate the presence of any earthworks beneath. The new road above referred to begins at Dumpton Gap, and proceeds in a southerly direction for about 600 yards. (Plate I.V.) It is slightly undulating, and rises to a height of about 100 feet above sea level at its highest point, while the land gently slopes towards the sea from west to east. At about 150 yards from the starting point there was found the first indication of the ground having been previously excavated, and here was met with what appears to be the fosse which surrounded the prehistoric village. It ran in a diagonal direction from south-west to north-east, across the line of the new road in course of construction. It was 22 feet wide, about 4 feet 6 inches deep, and had been excavated in the chalk. It was filled up with loamy soil and chalk *débris*. Proceeding a further distance of 20 yards, a trench was exposed which was 6 feet 6 inches wide at the top, 3 feet 6 inches at the bottom, and 2 feet deep, which also contained soil and chalk *débris*, with a few potsherds of a reddish-brown coarse ware, with fine flint or grit in the matrix. A few feet

\* See also *Proceedings*, 2nd S. xxii. 508-510.



away, in the centre of the new road, a human skull was found at a depth of 18 inches, and near by a number of human remains were disclosed, the skeletons being incomplete. The skulls and the arm and leg bones were laid separately, here and there, in shallow depressions cut in the chalk. In the case of the skulls the holes were roughly circular, and in that of the arms and legs the slight excavations were of a longitudinal form. In all about five or six skulls were



Fig. 1. Late-Celtic cordoned urn, Dumpton, Broadstairs. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

found, with the teeth in good condition, but the jaws were brittle, and would not bear much handling. One skeleton, laid by itself, had four small iron cramps, two at the head and two at the feet, probably at one time connected with a coffin. No implements or pottery of any kind were buried with these remains.

About 17 yards from the first trench before mentioned there was found an oval grave, 2 feet 6 inches long by 1 foot 9 inches wide, and 1 foot 9 inches

deep, which contained a Late-Celtic urn of the cordoned type, 9 inches high by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter, of a dull brown colour and lightly baked ware (fig. 1). It was filled to the brim with the partially charred bones of a child. When in the grave, it was protected by being packed round with flints, which had been subjected to the action of fire. Close alongside this urn was a small vessel of black ware, about 6 inches high by 5 inches diameter, but it was so badly cracked that it fell all to pieces on being removed from the grave.



Fig. 2. Late-Celtic bone hand-comb for weaving, and loom-weights, Dumpton, Broadstairs. (1.)

The next thing of interest to be turned up was a bracelet of Kimmeridge shale in the form of a ring with circular section and an outside diameter of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches. It is not perfect, there being a piece of the circle broken off. In close proximity to this bracelet there was found a bone hand-comb (fig. 2),  $5\frac{7}{8}$  inches long, used for beating in the weft on the loom, of the usual pattern common to early British sites; also a chalk loom-weight, of the triangular pattern, four-sided, tapering towards the top, with a perforation showing the chalk worn away by use



(fig. 2). The upper portions of two other loom-weights of baked clay, and one made of flint were also found (fig. 2). These latter were in the refuse pits, of which a number were met with, varying in size from 4 to 6 feet in diameter, and about 6 feet deep. Another oval grave was uncovered 3 feet long by 2 feet wide, and 2 feet 6 inches deep. It was lined with baked clay, and contained an urn (incomplete) of dark brown coarse ware, and also a dull red shallow pan or saucer (incomplete), both containing bones that had been subjected to the action of fire. The remains of the funeral feast were to be seen, in the form of oyster and mussel shells. The grave also contained a number of flint stones that had been through the fire.

Not far from this grave was found a small iron hunting lance or spear, which was close to a skeleton.

The next object of interest is that of a very large pit of irregular shape, which extended almost entirely across the road, being about 13 yards from north to south, but from east to west its extent has not been fully ascertained, although it was opened for a length of 12 yards. At one corner of this pit there was a layer of large flint boulders immediately under the top soil at a depth of 1 foot. It also contained the bones of oxen and sheep, horses' teeth, oyster shells, etc. with various fragments of Late-Celtic pottery, but nothing of any value was found. In the pit was a large quantity of very fine lime and grey coloured dust, while much of the material appeared to have been subjected to the action of water, being caked together and globular; and intermingled throughout the whole there were flints that showed the action of fire. The pit was about 6 feet in depth at its deepest part.

As the work of cutting the new road proceeded other things of interest were discovered, such as a number of flint pounds, varying from 3 to 5 inches in diameter; these were stacked together in a small heap comprising about a dozen. Near them was a small hand-quern of gritstone, but it was broken in three pieces and is not complete. A broken part of another quern was also found, and a large flat-topped flint stone with a tapering piece of sandstone shaped to suit the hand, and bearing signs of having been used for grinding purposes.

A considerable quantity of broken Late-Celtic pottery was discovered, lying about beneath the soil and in the refuse pits which were met with during the formation of the new roadway.

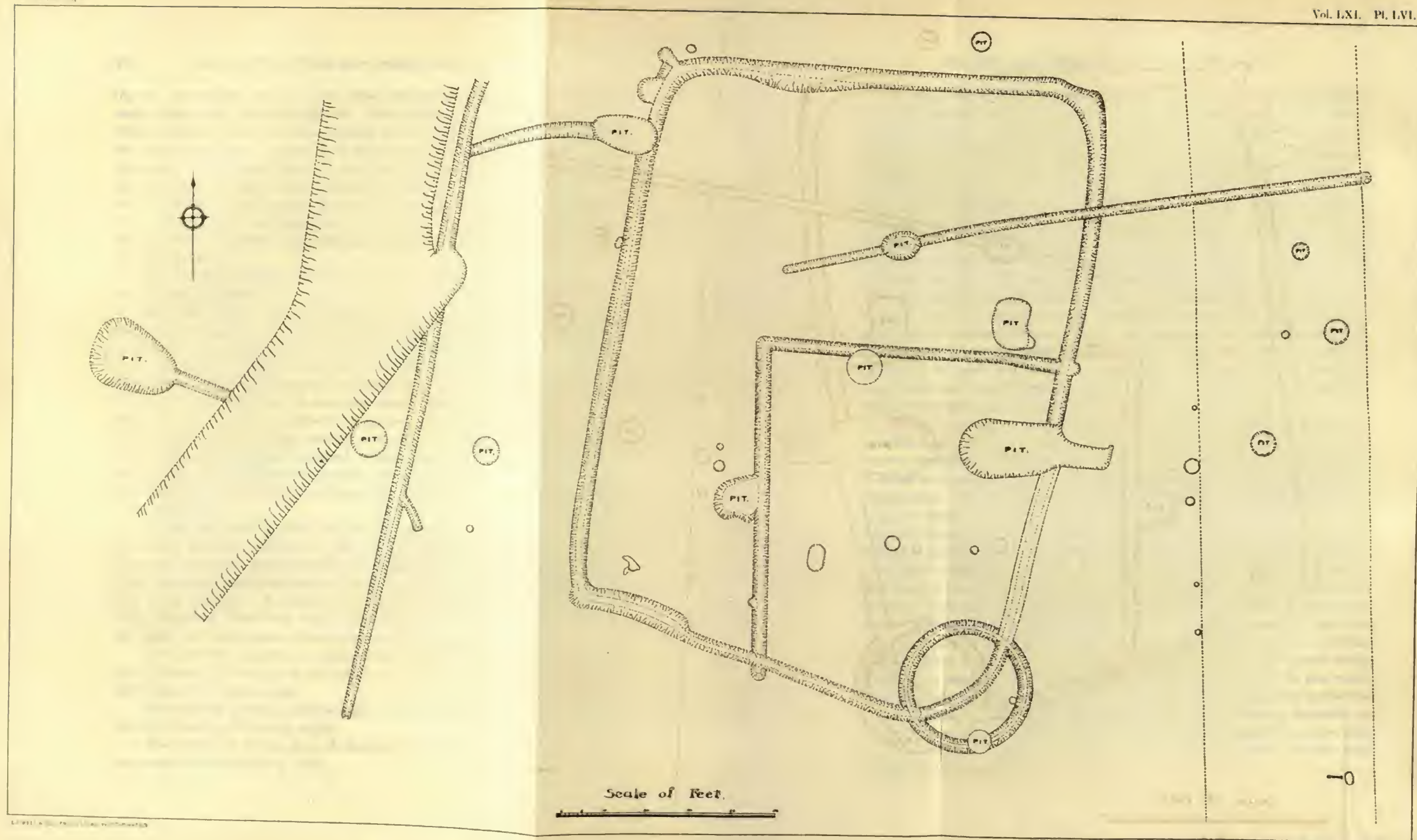
The extreme southern boundary of the village was eventually located, with its fosse measuring 20 feet in width.

This brings us to the close of the first portion of the excavations, which terminated in the autumn of 1907.



01/17/2008 AND NOTED THE FOLLOWING OFFICIALS IN 1975





PLAN OF PORTION OF LATE-CELTIC VILLAGE DISCOVERED NEAR DUMPTON GAP, BROADSTAIRS.



In July, 1908, during the digging of the foundation of a new house abutting on this road, further trenches and pits were located, and in the month of November, 1908, the owner of the property gave me permission to open up the ground surrounding the house, in order that the various trenches might be traced, and to enable a plan of the village to be made. (Plate LVI.) The work of excavating was accordingly begun, and continued at intervals until the end of March, 1909. The result was the discovery of a very extensive system of trenches or ditches, principally V-shaped, varying from 2 feet to 5 feet 6 inches at the top, and 1 foot 6 inches to 3 feet wide at the bottom, and 2 feet to 4 feet deep. From the nature of their construction and the inclinations or falls which they took, it appeared that they were designed for the purpose of carrying off the surface water drainage, and were not primarily for protection or defence. Along the line of the ditches or trenches there were pits or wells for receiving the surface water, which, however, would not be retained in them owing to the porosity of the chalk subsoil. The plan shows a large rectangular enclosure, which is about 49 yards from north to south, and 37 yards from east to west, and in the south-east corner of same there is a circular enclosure, 28 feet in diameter, which is probably of an earlier date, being intersected by the ditch which traversed the rectangular area.

It will be noticed that there are two pits indicated on the plan, which are of peculiar shape; they are so large that they can hardly be called pits; they bear a curious resemblance to a tennis bat. One is 5 feet 6 inches and the other 4 feet 6 inches at the deepest part, and their longest diameters were 35 feet and 21 feet respectively. They contained animal bones and potsherds, no metal objects being found in them. An oval pit about 7 feet 6 inches long by 6 feet wide by 6 feet deep was opened, which contained two lumps of yellow sandstone, five lumps of blue-grey granite, three whetstones of sandstone, two large oval quartzite pebbles, a quantity of lightly baked clay, and about 4 feet down from the top of the pit was found a layer of black soil, 3 to 4 inches thick, and below this a number of lumps of *danb*, such as would be used for huts after the manner of wattle and *danb*. Intermingled throughout the pit were ox bones, a sheep's jaw, the teeth and part of the jaw of a large dog or wolf, a large quantity of broken pottery, chiefly Late-Celtic, and also a few flint flakes, oyster and mussel shells. This may be described as a sample of the usual contents of most of the pits, which were no doubt for refuse purposes, there being none which was used for habitation.

A number of small holes were also noticed, some containing fragments of pottery, burnt stones, and fine ash, and were probably cooking pits; others were only 8 or 9 inches in diameter and were probably for posts, either for some kind of defence, or domestic use.



The absence of metallic objects or implements being discovered on this site leads to the conclusion that the pits have been disturbed at some previous time, and all such treasure removed, and this would appear to be borne out by the fact that, in opening them up, I was struck by the general looseness of the soil and the fragmentary state of the pottery which was found in many of them, such as bottoms of urns and parts of other vessels which had no relation whatever to one another.

On examining the fragments of pottery found in this field they are seen to cover a fairly wide range both as to texture and quality of material, also as regards the nature and style of ornament used. There appears to be no hand-made pottery, but all has been made on a wheel. Some specimens are very coarse, having grit or flint mixed with the clay, and in others occasionally small grains of quartz may be seen.

The colours vary from light brown to pale brick shade, and some are quite black and shining, caused probably by a surface treatment of charcoal pounded very finely and applied in the form of a pigment over a dark brown surface, but some of the other kinds are harder and black throughout. As to ornament, there is the stabbed pattern (fig. 3), and some pieces have raised ribs or cordons (fig. 4), while others are elegantly moulded. Then there is the characteristic linear ornament; also finely incised sloping lines, zigzags, and sprays, while there is a large quantity of specimens with comb markings of varying patterns (fig. 4). Some broken pieces of the Aylesford class of pottery were also met with, a few moulded pedestals of vases, but not in a complete state, fragments of the familiar Samian ware, also a piece of red Gaulish ware, and last but not least the coarse red roofing tiles, which probably did service on some Roman villa whose foundations have not yet been discovered.



Fig. 3. Late-Celtic pottery with stabbed ornamentation.  
Dumpton, Broadstairs. (4.)

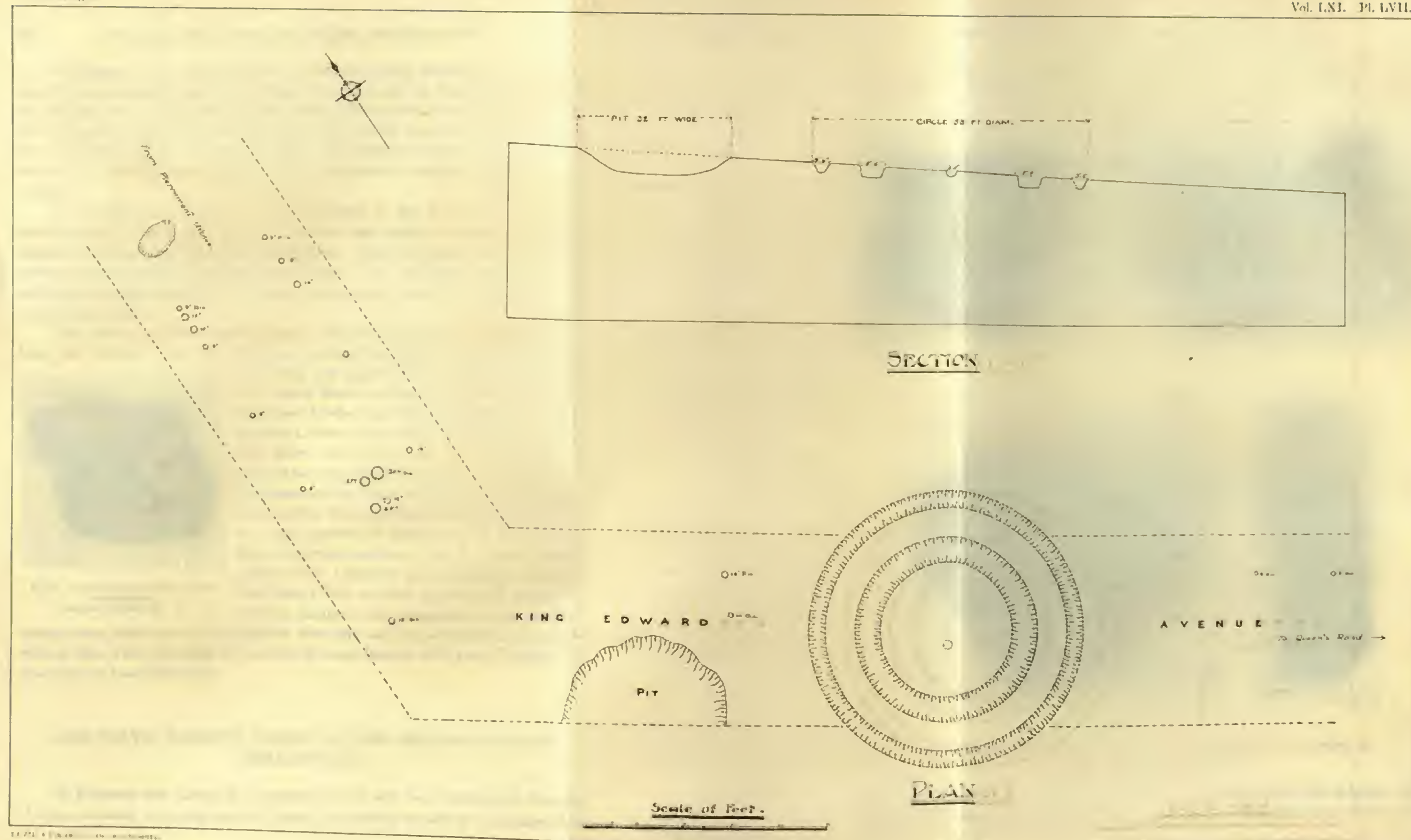
#### LATE-CELTIC REMAINS FOUND AT KING EDWARD AVENUE, BROADSTAIRS.

In February last, during the construction of a new road called King Edward Avenue, situated on rising ground, having an easterly aspect, at a distance of a

SPRINGDALE AND HOTSPRING FROM SPRING OILFIELD TO WEST







PLAN OF LATE-CELTIC SETTLEMENT AT KING EDWARD AVENUE, BROADSTAIRS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1909

quarter of a mile from the sea, there was discovered a small Late-Celtic settlement, consisting of a circular enclosure having a double line of ditches surrounding it,



Fig. 4. Late-Celtic pottery fragments, showing types of ornamentation, Dumpton, Broadstairs. (1.) (a) moulded, (b) comb-marked, (c) linear.

cut in the chalk subsoil. (Plate LVII.) The outer ditch was 3 feet 6 inches wide at top, and V-shaped, and about 2 feet 6 inches deep. At a distance of about 6 feet



from it, there was an inner ditch about 5 feet 6 inches wide and the same depth as the other one. The inner ditch enclosed an area having a diameter of 28 feet,

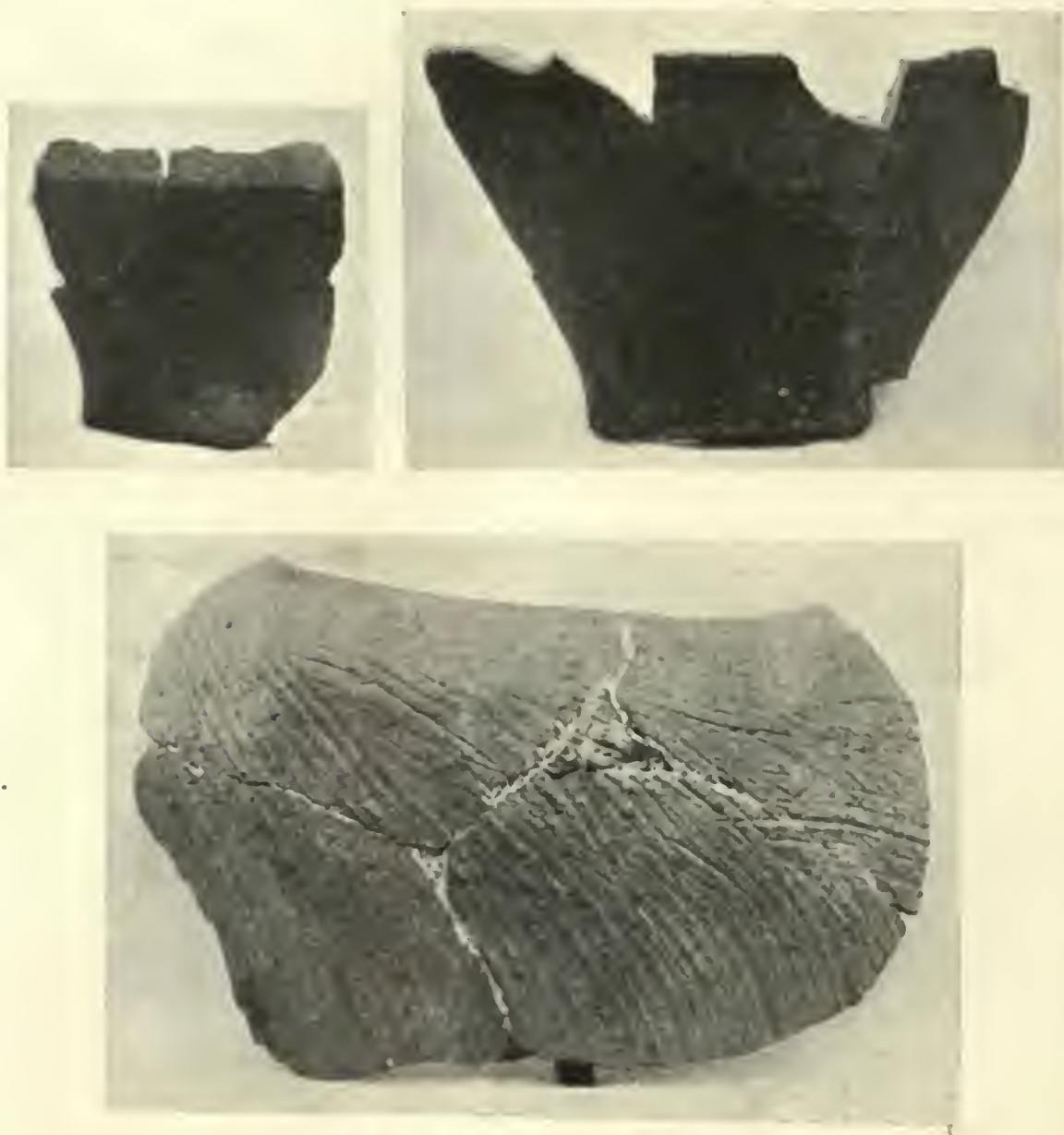


Fig. 5. Urn fragments, Dumpton, Broadstairs. (4.)

while the extreme diameter of the circle formed by the outer ditch was 58 feet. Near the centre of the circle was a round hole about 2 feet in diameter and 1 foot deep, in which was a large urn. The pottery was of a coarse character, with

quartz grains mixed with the clay, of a light brown colour, and ornamented with rough incised lines drawn with a blunt instrument round the top of the vessel, and a number of stabbed holes between the two rows of lines. The urn fell into many pieces when removed from the ground. In the ditches where found a few ox bones and one fossil *echinus*. About six yards from the circle there was a pit of irregular shape, 32 feet long in one direction, and over 10 feet wide in another; it is probably much larger than the latter dimension, as it was not opened to its full limit. It was 4 feet 6 inches deep, and contained soil and chalk *débris*, with bones and teeth of oxen or horses, fragments of black and pale red pottery, and a few oyster, mussel, and limpet shells.

About 40 yards in a north-westerly direction from the circular enclosure, there was a number of small holes varying from 8 to 15 inches in diameter, in two parallel lines (fifteen holes in all), which may have held posts that formed part of a stockade or some other means of defence.

No metal whatever was found on this site, but a portion of a chalk disc 13 inches in diameter was dug up.

#### LATE-CELTIC REMAINS AT LANTHORNE ROAD, BROADSTAIRS.

During the sinking of a shaft in connexion with some drainage work at Lanthorne Road, in the month of November, 1907, by workmen in the employ of the local authority, I discovered an ancient excavation in the chalk subsoil, consisting of a pit 4 feet wide, 12 feet long, and 12 feet deep, each end being almost semicircular. About 3 feet below the road surface, which had been made up to this extent and at what appeared to be the original level of the ground, there was a layer of lightly baked clay, forming a kind of floor 1½ inch thick, firmly compacted together, and extending all over the area of the pit.

Beneath this was found an iron spear-head, about 12 inches long, in a very oxidized state. The remainder of the pit was filled with earth and fine ash, also flints, showing evidence of having been subjected to fire; and a large quantity of bones of various domestic animals, such as sheep, horses, and oxen. There was a considerable quantity of broken pottery, mostly of Late-Celtic type, and similar to that found on the Dumpton field. One interesting fragment had a decoration of the finger-nail order, while a number of pieces were comb-marked, and others of fine black ware with the characteristic linear ornament, executed no doubt by means of a blunt point while the clay was soft. A black ware bowl about 10 inches in diameter was discovered, and has been partially restored. A number of whetstones were found, and a large piece of fossil sponge.



## ANCIENT POTTERY FOUND AT STONE ROAD, BROADSTAIRS.

During the trenching of a garden opposite "St. David's," Stone Road, Broadstairs, belonging to the late Mr. G. G. Kennedy, in October, 1905, two ancient graves were uncovered, one containing a skeleton, at the foot of which there stood a water bottle of buff ware 6 inches high (fig. 6), resting in a red ware dish 7 inches in diameter, and close alongside them was a vase of blue-



Fig. 6. Buff-coloured water-bottle, Stone Road, Broadstairs. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

grey ware; in the other grave were two skeletons, and in association with them one red ware dish  $6\frac{3}{8}$  inches in diameter, and a small blue-grey vase. At the head of one of the skeletons was a very large flint stone, while all of them were protected with a number of small flint stones, but the human bones crumbled into dust on exposure to the air.

Mr. Reginald A. Smith, of the British Museum, has kindly supplied the following information respecting the two red ware dishes above mentioned: The potter's mark on the larger dish is that of CINNAMVS, a potter of Lezoux, Puy-de-

Dôme, who worked in the first half of the second century, and generally made large hemispherical bowls with figures and floral designs in relief. The mark on the smaller one is *cos.rvf*, which stands for *cosivs rvfinvs*, a well-known potter, but from the earlier factory of La Granfesenque, Aveyron, where work ceased very early in the second century. The form of this dish is transitional between Dragendorff's numbers 18 and 31, and may be assigned to about 100 A.D., whereas that of *CINNAMVS* is probably somewhat later, but still before 150 A.D.



Fig. 7. Sepulchral vessels of grey ware, Stone Road, Broadstairs. (4.)

#### ANCIENT POTTERY FOUND AT RUMFIELDS, ST. PETER'S.

During the process of excavating the brick-earth at a brickfield, situated at Rumfields, St. Peter's, belonging to Mr. W. W. Martin, there has been found from time to time during the past nine or ten years a number of pottery vessels and a few bronze objects. Some of the articles have been discovered in association with skeletons, but unfortunately no observations were made at the time as



to the exact conditions which prevailed so that this desirable information is not available. They consist of :

- 6 small vases of various patterns from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches to 4 inches high ; of blue-grey colour (Plate LVIII.) ;
- 1 moulded dish, 5 inches diameter, blue-grey ware ;
- 1 moulded dish, 4 inches diameter, red ware ;
- 1 buff colour water bottle (fig. 8) ;
- 1 red ware dish,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter, with raised centre, and having the mark of a potter, "CONATIUS," who worked in Germany, in the second century ;
- 1 dish with flat bottom  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches diameter, of blue-grey ware ;
- 1 red ware dish  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter, with ornament consisting of conventional ivy leaf in slip ;
- 2 Gaulish red ware dishes  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter.

The above are principally of first and second century date.

Also two bronze brooches of first-century pattern, not quite complete, two small bronze necklets, and a necklet of bronze wire.

P.S. The illustrations are enlarged from photographs by Mr. J. Walton, of Broadstairs.



Fig. 8. Buff-coloured water bottle, Rumfield, Broadstairs. (4.)



SEPULCHRAL VESSELS OF BLUE-GRY WARE, RUMFIELDS, BROADSTAIRS. (1.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1862.





XVII.—*The Origin, Evolution, and Classification of the Bronze Spear-head in Great Britain and Ireland.* By the Rev. WILLIAM GREENWELL, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., and WILLIAM PARKER BREWIS, Esq.

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Read 29th April, 1909.

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THE evolution of the bronze spear-head in the United Kingdom is a subject of much importance in the history of the Bronze Culture in the countries which are comprised within that area. It does not appear, however, to have had the attention bestowed upon it which it demands, and the purpose of this essay is to bring together the necessary material for supplying that want, and to attempt a classification of the different forms through which the spear-head passed in Great Britain and Ireland.

The late Sir John Evans, in *Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain*, has accumulated a large amount of information with regard to the various weapons and other instruments of which he treats, and the places and circumstances of their discovery. He did not, however, attempt any basis of classification for the spear-head beyond the incomplete and unsatisfactory one set out by Sir William Wilde in his *Catalogue of the Antiquities of Bronze in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, to which he added another variety, one which has not been found in Ireland. Nor has Dr. Anderson provided anything in the way of classification, either in the *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*, or in *Scotland in Pagan Times: The Bronze and Stone Ages*. In the excellent *Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age* in the British Museum, it could not be expected that the subject would be entered upon in an exhaustive way. The first serious attempt was made by Mr. George Coffey in his instructive *Notes on the Classifica-*



*tion of Spear-heads of the Bronze Age found in Ireland*, published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.\* This account does not profess to be more than "Notes," and is necessarily imperfect with regard to the United Kingdom, in that it only includes the spear-heads discovered in Ireland. Mr. Coffey's work must be appreciated by all students of this subject, but he does not appear to have recognised the important part played by the ferrule of the tanged type in the evolution of the socket, for he attempts to develop the socket of the spear from that of the axe, in spite of the fact that the latter was not provided with a socket until long after the spear-head was possessed of one; nor can we agree with him in following Wilde's Classification. Apart from other divisions whose place in that Classification cannot be regarded as satisfactory, "Looped and Riveted" heads is not a correct one, as some of the earliest known bronze socketed spear-heads are without loops (figs. 9 and 12).

The development of the spear-head in the United Kingdom is to some extent involved in the history of the rise and progress of a Bronze Culture as a whole within the same area. It will, therefore, not be without its use to give some consideration to that wider question of the origin and use of bronze in general in that part of Europe with which the present account is concerned. To give to that large and difficult problem the full and adequate treatment which its importance requires is beyond the limits of this essay. Some notes, however, more suggestive than argumentative, may not be out of place in relation to the broader issue, and still more so in regard to the subordinate one about to be discussed.

It has, hitherto, been almost universally held that a knowledge of bronze accompanied by articles of that metal was introduced into our country from somewhere beyond the seas. This is supposed to have taken place either by the invasion of a conquering people or through the more peaceful agency of trade. It has further been held that when this introduction took place, a certain amount of progress had already been made in the manufacture of bronze in the place from which it is supposed to have been brought, and that bronze arrived here in the shape of weapons and implements, which displayed in their fabric and efficiency the educated skill of those who had cast them, a result which could only have been attained after a long experience of the manufacture of that metal.

This theory, though it fits in with the now much discredited opinion that a knowledge of bronze originated in, and was disseminated from, some common (or central) source, not exactly defined, through more than one line of diffusion,

\* Third S. iii. No. 3.

does not appear to be supported by the evidence which the weapons and other instruments themselves afford, so far at least as Great Britain and Ireland are concerned. If bronze in a manufactured state, comprising many different articles, had come to us from abroad, it might be expected that implements of that metal, similar to those which belong to the earliest times of its use in the United Kingdom, would have been found in one or other of the countries from which it is believed to have been introduced. That, however, is not the case.

The thin so-called knife-dagger (fig. 3), with a rounded termination, a frequent accompaniment of an early Bronze Age burial, differs essentially from any corresponding implement found elsewhere, and other instances might be adduced.

The case of the spear-head, however, is the most conclusive one in relation to the origin and development of a native bronze culture. It will be sufficient merely to refer to it in this place, as it will be fully discussed in the sequel, but it may here be emphatically stated that in no other country does there exist a sequence of forms through which the spear-head passed in any way to be compared with that which is found in the United Kingdom.

Though there is no proof that a knowledge of copper and its derivative bronze originated independently in the United Kingdom, yet certainly no valid argument to the contrary has been adduced. Nor is there any reason why the knowledge that certain ores were convertible into a metallic condition and capable of being manufactured should not have been discovered by any people of average capacity where the necessary ores were to be found. That such a discovery should be confined to one centre appears to deny to the rest of the world the faculty of imagination and invention. Great Britain and Ireland contain the ores necessary for the production of the metal in question, and it cannot be said that the people of these islands were so wanting in mental activity and the power of manipulating a material they were afterwards to bring to the highest degree of perfection, as to be incapable of making such a discovery. Why then may not a bronze culture have had its birth in our country, where it ultimately attained a development scarcely equalled, certainly not surpassed, by that in any other part of the world?

A supposed central place of origin from which a bronze culture, with its various modifications, spread along divers lines of transit, has, perhaps, been too much insisted upon to the neglect of the opposite view, which would suggest that there may have been more than one country in which a similar discovery had its origin. It is not denied that there must have been a single place and time



when it first became known that ores could be so treated as to produce that result. It may be that from such a centre this knowledge spread to other and even far distant places. On the other hand it is not necessary to suppose that in every place where the use of bronze became known and was developed, it arrived there either direct or through some intermediary channel from an extraneous source. There is no reason why it may not have been discovered and utilized in any country, such as the United Kingdom, where the requisite conditions for such a discovery were existent. The point, however, to be discussed is not so much the discovery and origin of bronze, as its gradual evolution from the simplest forms to the highest stage it finally reached in the country in question.

Whatever may be the true explanation of the history of the general development of a bronze culture in Great Britain and Ireland, there can be no doubt whatever that the spear-head in its origin, progress, and final consummation, was an indigenous product of those two countries, and was manufactured within their limits apart from any controlling influence from outside. It is true that the islands of the Aegean Sea and the coast adjoining provide an early form of a copper or bronze spear-head, to some of which a more or less rudimentary tang was attached. A somewhat similar form has been found in one of the early settlements at Hissarlik, that which Schliemann called the second city of Troy. Another but somewhat different form of tanged spear-head was in use in Cyprus and in the adjacent countries of Syria and Palestine. It has a round tang tapering to the end, which is turned over to aid in fixing it into the shaft. A tanged form of blade has also been found in the Lago di Garda, and is some of the Terramara deposits of Northern Italy. All these special, but simple and natural, forms, probably resulting from the fact that similar requirements and conditions produced similar results, had their origin most likely in the locality where they are met with. In any case they cannot be regarded as the ancestors of the tanged blade of the United Kingdom, to which they bear only a distant resemblance, and which, as will be seen in the sequel, had an independent parentage of its own. Nor can it be alleged that there is any reason why so simple a form of heading the shaft should not have come into existence quite independently in any country where bronze was in use.

The evidence upon which our knowledge of the first use of bronze in the United Kingdom is based is mainly afforded by the contents of the graves. The whole amount of material provided by these grave goods, however, is small. They consist principally of articles of no great size, implying no doubt a scarcity of metal at the time in question. These articles comprise a plain flat axe, probably

cast in an open stone mould; a knife, generally called a knife-dagger; a small pricker or awl; ear-rings; and in some early burial places, though not in these of the earliest time, a true dagger and a pin. No flanged or socketed axe occurs, nor has a rapier, a sword, or a spear-head of the ordinary recognized types of that weapon<sup>a</sup> ever been found deposited with the dead. This comparative scarcity of weapons is the more remarkable because in Denmark, and some other parts of Europe, the sword and other articles of bronze are not infrequent in burials.

A spear-head of metal does not, therefore, appear to have been manufactured in Great Britain or Ireland at a time when bronze first came into use there, nor indeed for some time afterwards. It is impossible to believe that the spear, so essential and universal a weapon as it is, was not known in the United Kingdom at the time we are considering, nor can there be any doubt that it was as abundantly used then as it was afterwards when the head was made of bronze. The explanation is not far to seek. The head of stone or bone (figs. 1 and 2), provided for the spear at the time when metal was unknown, continued to be in use for some time after bronze had been discovered, and had become the material employed for the manufacture of other instruments. As illustrating this survival of stone for heading the spear after the introduction of bronze the somewhat parallel case of the arrow point may be adduced. Throughout the whole course of the bronze period in the United Kingdom, and in some other countries of Europe, flint was universally employed to tip the arrow, though in other parts of the world arrow heads of bronze are abundant.<sup>b</sup> The same may be said of other instruments, such as the war hammer of stone (fig. 69), which was used during the whole of the period in question. The bronze axe may have been used at times for war-like purposes, but it was essentially a domestic instrument.

Though the bronze head succeeded to, and ultimately replaced, the bone or stone head of the spear, it did not imitate the shape or other characteristics of the earlier forms. It was a modification of the bronze dagger, altered to fit it for its new purpose, though in its early form it obviously preserved some of the salient features of the weapon of which it was an offshoot and development. So alike indeed are the two blades that if the base of the Snowhill dagger (fig. 4) and spear-head (fig. 8) was concealed it would be difficult to tell one from the other. It may be remarked in passing that from the dagger was also evolved the rapier blade, which finally culminated in the sword. In this way the knife-dagger,

<sup>a</sup> Except in the Snowhill cist burial, see *post*.

<sup>b</sup> Many of these may, however, belong to a time after iron became known.



through its descendant the true dagger, was the ancestor of two of the most common and efficient instruments of war, the sword and the spear.

The spear, though one of the first and most efficient instruments of war and the chase, was nevertheless not the first implement made of metal. The cause of this may have been the initial difficulty of fixing a metal head on to a shaft, but the more probable reason is the fact that the stone or bone head (figs. 1 and 2), with which the spear was tipped before the introduction of metal, was an instrument almost as effective and certainly more economical; the old form and material was therefore retained until bronze had become more common, and those who manufactured it had attained a greater amount of experience and proficiency. During the time the slightly flanged form of axe was in use, one certainly long before the advent of the sword, a great advance was made in the various processes of the manufacture in bronze, as well as in the skill of the workman. It was at this period that bronze was first applied to the making of the spear-head, and the problem of providing a method of attaching a metal blade to the wooden shaft was solved. Two processes would naturally suggest themselves: one in which the shaft would enter the head;\* the other where the blade would be placed within the shaft. The former of these methods was impossible to the early workers in bronze, who had no knowledge of casting hollow to form a socket. They therefore adopted the second method, and took as a basis the already existing dagger blade (fig. 4).

The widely expanded base of the dagger was not, however, suitable without alteration to serve the purpose required, as the base of the spear-head would have to be narrow to fit the shaft. This difficulty was overcome by retaining in the spear-head the form of the blade of the dagger, and at the same time altering the mode of attachment by providing the base of the blade with a long and narrow tang (fig. 5). The tang was further secured in its position by having at its end a peg or rivet (fig. 6) which also pierced the shaft. The attachment was probably aided by binding a thong over the wood, a process which would also tend to prevent the shaft being split by the action of the tang when the weapon was in use.

Although the tanged type of spear-head might in the first instance have been

\* The principle of the socket was known long before the Bronze Age, for a horn socket was often interposed between the stone axe and its shaft to prevent the latter splitting. Moreover, the early spear was at times tipped with bone, which had a natural socket (fig. 2).

cast in a double mould by workmen who did not know how to cast hollow over a core, yet the ferrules which have been found upon some of them show that before the tanged type became obsolete, casting over a core had come into use. The ferrule upon the tang of the spear-head found at Arreton Down (fig. 7) has a mouth made to fit the base of the blade, but changes to a circular form at the other end to receive the rounded shaft. The addition of a ferrule may be considered as the most important element in the development of the spear-head, for it was the origin of the socket, the most effective means of joining the head and the shaft.

These tanged blades have frequently been regarded as daggers, but nothing like the hilt of a dagger has ever been found in connexion with them, nor is there anything which indicates that they were intended to be used as daggers. On the contrary there are features in their construction which show that they are spear-heads. In support of this the following observations may be offered :

Dagger blades with metal hilts attached, though not uncommon in many other countries, have been found only in a few cases in the United Kingdom, by far the larger number having been provided with a hilt of some perishable material. In both these cases it is shown, in the former by the hilt itself and in the latter by the length of the rivets still remaining, that the grip of the dagger was not round, but more or less flat or elliptical in section.\* The socket of the spear, on the contrary, was circular. It is true that the socket cavities of some few spear-heads are not absolutely circular, but they were no doubt intended to be so, in accordance with the form of the shaft, which is always round. This round shape is that which is found in the Snowhill ferrule (fig. 8).

Perhaps a comparison of this weapon with a true dagger found associated with it at Snowhill in the same interment will be convincing. These blades are so alike, that if their bases were concealed it would be difficult to distinguish one from the other (figs. 4 and 8). They possess, however, very marked differences in the method of their mounting. The dagger blade (fig. 4) has a broadly expanded base, the lateral rivets being placed far apart, for lateral strength is a necessity in a dagger; whilst in the spear-head (fig. 8) the base of the blade as a means of attachment is extended by the addition of a tang having a ferrule riveted upon it. The mouth of the ferrule, where it embraces the base of the blade, is unlike the semi-lunar shaped recess to be seen where the hilt of the dagger impinged upon

\* In a round section there is nothing to denote in which direction the edge of the blade lies, but with an elliptical section the long axis is made to correspond with the edge of the blade.



the blade; it is decorated at both ends by a series of encircling grooved lines apparently a survival of the binding thong, for which the ferrule is to some extent a metal substitute. The opposite end of the ferrule is, as has already been stated, circular in order to receive the shaft, and not elliptical as it would have been if intended for the hilt of a dagger. The length of the rivets affords conclusive proof that these tanged blades are the heads of a spear, and not daggers. The rivet in the dagger blade is only  $\frac{1\frac{3}{8}}$  of an inch long, intended for a hilt about  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch thick, whereas in the spear-head the rivet is  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch long, clearly intended, as the circular cavity of the ferrule shows, to pierce a shaft of about one inch in diameter. Dagger hilts were made somewhat proportionate to the size of the blade, but this small tanged blade some 6 inches long was intended for a haft thicker than that of the largest known dagger. It would be almost impossible to believe that Bronze Age man was possessed of so little intelligence as to suppose he would make such a provision for the hilt of a dagger when he already possessed a much superior method of attaching a hilt to that weapon.

That these blades are those of spear-heads is shown in various other ways. A series of moulds for casting a very early form of spear-head, found associated together at Omagh,\* contains one (fig. 81) intended for casting a ferrule somewhat similar to that on the Snowhill example. This shows that some of the ferrules had loops, which are unknown in connexion with the dagger, but play an important part in the evolution of the spear-head. Again, the tanged blade from Arretton Down (fig. 6) has a strongly marked cross section, a feature which is ill suited to a dagger, but forms a very efficient element in the spear-head.

To return to the evolution of the spear-head, after the addition of a ferrule. The next step, though not perhaps a very important one, was to increase the width of the tang near to its junction with the blade so as to allow of rivets being passed through in order to attach the ferrule to the tang (fig. 8). The shaft, however, in spite of the strengthening effect of the ferrule, was necessarily so weakened by the insertion of the tang, and the consequent thinness of the wood left between the tang and the ferrule, that it became too slight to sustain the strain made upon it when in use (fig. 8). It was therefore necessary to make a change, and this was effected by doing away with the tang and casting the blade and ferrule in one piece, a much superior mode of hafting than had hitherto been

\* These moulds (fig. 81) were described by Mr. George Coffey before the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in 1907. They are probably the earliest known moulds for casting spear-heads of a similar type to those found in the Arretton Down hoard. For casts of the moulds the authors are indebted to Mr. J. M. Sullivan, H.M. Inspector of Schools in Ireland.

adopted. This very important step, the union of the blade and ferrule, marks a distinct stage in the evolution of the spear-head. It is in reality the invention of the socket, and though it involved a great change, and even introduced a new principle, it nevertheless came about by a very simple process. The head shown in fig. 9,<sup>a</sup> is formed by casting the ferrule in one piece with the blade. It was found in the Arreton Down hoard, and may be regarded as the earliest known socketed bronze spear-head which has been discovered in the United Kingdom.<sup>b</sup> It has no loops, but has been attached to the end of the shaft by means of a pin which passed through two holes and the intervening shaft. This constitutes the earliest mode of fastening the socketed spear-head.

In the Arreton Down head, as also in those which immediately succeeded that form, the cavity of the socket does not extend into the blade (fig. 9) but stops at the line of the simulated mouth, where the blade and socket met before they were cast in one piece. The simulated mouth of the socket, and the simulated rivet heads, are no doubt derived from the true mouth and rivets of the Snowhill type of head (fig. 8), from which the Arreton Down head differs in having the tang omitted and the blade and socket cast in one piece (fig. 10). A comparison of these two heads will show clearly that the Snowhill head is the prototype of that from Arreton Down even in minute details. The socket of the spear-head was therefore derived directly from the ferrule of the tanged type. It is a remarkable fact that the invention of the socket as a method of attaching the head of the spear to the shaft anticipated, apparently by a long period, the same provision for hafting the axe. When once the socketed spear-head was adopted it must have become apparent that it was the best method of attaching the blade to the shaft, and it continued to be used in that relation during the remainder of the Bronze Age, and though various modifications took place in the form of the spear-head and in its subordinate features, they were all subsidiary to the principle of a socketed head.

The earliest method (that adopted in figs. 9 and 12) of securing the head of the spear to the shaft, after the substitution of a socket for the tang, was by means of a pin or peg. This method, if the rarity of the examples hitherto discovered is an index of the number once manufactured, can have been in use

<sup>a</sup> Several other heads of similar form have occurred both in Great Britain and Ireland, see list, *post*.

<sup>b</sup> Fig. 9 is here considered to be the earliest socketed bronze spear-head, not only because it was found associated with tanged heads, but also because it is nearest in general features to its prototype (fig. 8), the Snowhill head.



for a short time only. It is difficult to understand why a process so obviously efficient, which ultimately became the universal means of securing the union of the two components of the spear, should have fallen into disuse. Such, however, was the case.

The next step was to do away with the pin holes and to substitute loops, which, in connexion with a thong, were to be the means of securing the head to the shaft. The loops were first placed low down on the socket, one on each side in the plane of the wings (fig. 11). After the substitution of loops for the pin the next change was made by extending the cavity of the socket more and more up the blade under the midrib, which in consequence becomes more accentuated. By this process of extending the socket into the blade the hold of the one upon the other becomes much more secure. At the same time the mark of the simulated junction between the blade and socket becomes less apparent and ultimately disappears (figs. 13, 14, and 15). This extension of the cavity of the socket up the blade under the midrib, and the disappearance of the simulated mouth, united the blade and socket not only in construction but also in appearance.

The evolution of the socket has now almost reached its limit. Originating in the ferrule, it had gradually developed into a tube, which extended along under the midrib, with an almost uniform taper from its mouth towards the point, nearly up to which the socket cavity is frequently carried. By this process the blade is divided into two parts, and the head appears as a midrib socket with a wing on either side, the wings, in fact, being a survival of the sides of the dagger blade, from which the head itself had been developed.

The wings undergo many changes both in their outline and substance, and markedly in the way in which they join the socket. At first the outline of the base of the wings, where it emerges from the socket, retains the old concave form (figs. 17 and 18), which was a survival of that of the ferrule. In this type the outline of the head is distinctly vigorous, and presents in its appearance somewhat of a diamond shape, with two short concave blunt sides at the base, and two long ones which, with a sharp edge strongly bevelled, are carried up to the slightly rounded point. A comparison of the figures 10, 13, 14, 15, and 16 will show that the angular break in the flow of the outline of the wings, the upper part of the blade alone being provided with a sharp edge, is due to the fact that in the earlier examples the edge stopped at the simulated junction of the blade and socket.

As the wings develop they become gradually thinner in substance, and the inner edge of the bevel is at times represented only by one narrow rib or

more\* on either side of each wing, which converge as they ascend to join the midrib at a point rather more than halfway up the blade. These alternative systems are shown in figs. 18 and 19, the wings in fig. 18 having a strongly bevelled edge, whereas in fig. 19 the line of what was at one time the inner edge of the bevel is represented only by a rib. These two heads have a similar appearance in elevation, while they differ in section. These alternative forms must have been used concurrently for some considerable time, for there are numerous examples similar in all respects, except that one (fig. 22) has a bevelled edge and another (fig. 23) a rib. The two heads (figs. 22 and 23) are certainly somewhat later than figs. 18 and 19, for the loops have moved up to the base of the wings, and the space between the rib on the wings and the midrib socket remains only in the shape of a narrow groove. In early examples the ribs on the wings meet the midrib at a considerable angle and at some distance from the point (fig. 19), but later they converge at the point (figs. 22, 23, 24, 25). In the last example they have become parallel to the midrib, but later they appear to be joined to the midrib and so suggest the strap (fig. 35), while in some cases they disappear (fig. 28). The early ribs were also well marked (fig. 17), whereas in later examples they are frequently less prominent (figs. 26, 27) or absent (fig. 28).<sup>b</sup> By the omission of the triangular portion of the wings between the ribs and the midrib the head was considerably narrowed at its base. In some heads (figs. 22 and 23) the ridge of the bevel, or the rib which replaced it on the wings, are almost parallel to the midrib socket, and are carried down to form the loops which in these cases have moved upwards to the base of the wings. An intermediate stage between figs. 18, 19 and figs. 22, 23 is shown by fig. 21, where the ribs on the wings are not quite parallel to the midrib, but are turned inward to meet the loops at the base of the wings.

The moving the loops up the socket is not what might have been expected if their purpose was to attach the head to the shaft by means of a thong. That this, however, was the original purpose of the loops appears to be implied by the fact that when the method of fixing the head by a pin came into general use the loops died out.

The tendency of the loops to be gradually placed higher up the socket is an

\* Only one example with double ribs is known. See *Notes on Spear-Heads*, by George Coffey, fig. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Fig. 72, in which the slight ribs on the wings turn in at the base parallel to the edge, is a very rare type which may have been the origin of fig. 37.



important feature, for, with the exception of the plain type to be described later, it may be used as a guide to the comparative date of some of the looped heads. They were at first placed low down on each side of the socket (fig. 11), but in course of time they were moved higher towards the base of the wings, with which in some cases they became connected by a narrow band or extension of the base of the wings (fig. 20). By a further upward movement they join the base of the wings (figs. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27), and still later the loops at the base of the wings are included in the sloping outline of the sides of the blade (fig. 28). They ultimately move higher up and become what are called "protected loops" (fig. 29).<sup>a</sup> The angular outline has now quite disappeared, and the edge flows in one unbroken line from its point down to the base where it joins the socket. The wings themselves have become plain and of almost uniform thickness, giving them the appearance of a leaf-shaped plate with the midrib extending up the middle on either face.

The latest development in the relation of head and shaft took place when the method of fixing the shaft by a peg or pin was reverted to (figs. 31 and 32), and the loops had entirely disappeared, or only survive in the piercings which occur in some of the heads in the form of lunate and other openings (figs. 39 and 40).

The full development had now taken place, and the spear-head had passed into the leaf-shaped socketed type, which, with various modifications and differences in subordinate particulars, prevailed down to the end of the Bronze Period. The simple leaf-shaped type has generally been regarded as having had a separate origin, and not as having been evolved from the looped type. The change from the looped to the leaf-shaped type was, however, quite a natural one, many of the late looped forms being leaf-shaped in outline, and requiring nothing more to make them of the ordinary leaf-shaped pattern than the substitution of a pin for the loops as a means of attachment. If the loops of a spear-head found in the Thames at Chiswick (fig. 28) were concealed, it would be difficult to distinguish it from a loopless one found at Isleworth (fig. 31), the first being a looped head, and the other a plain leaf-shaped one.

Some few heads with loops on the socket have also a peg hole. It is probable that in these cases the holes may have been drilled at a time later than that of the manufacture of the head, after the peg had come into general use. The holes in the plain leaf-shaped type are always in the plane of the wings; on the

<sup>a</sup> It is probable that the openings of the so-called protected loops are a survival of the actual loops, the raised part on their outer edges representing the edge of the bridge of the loops.

contrary, those inserted in the looped type are usually placed in the reverse plane (fig. 19).

The looped type in all its forms is one which originated in and was exclusively used in the United Kingdom, none having been found outside these islands, except a few which have occurred principally in the northern part of France, into which country they were doubtless imported. A few heads with loops on the socket have likewise been found at Mycenæ and in Hungary, there are also other scattered instances, but these loops probably served some other purpose than that of attaching the head to the shaft.<sup>a</sup>

By a further development a strap or band was placed on either side of the midrib socket, by which process the wings were blended into it. This strap or band sometimes runs down the socket below the wings so as to include the pin holes (fig. 35), though in other cases the pin holes pierce the socket below the band (fig. 36). The wings are in rare instances placed on a double band which gives somewhat the appearance of steps from the wings to the socket. The result of this on the face of the blade is to produce a simple but effective decoration in the shape of a rib or ribs alongside and parallel to the midrib socket (fig. 36). It also makes the junction of the wings and midrib more gradual, in which it is aided by the thickening of the wings as they approach the midrib. Some leaf-shaped wings are thickened by a series of steps or bands which run parallel to the edge of the wing (fig. 37). This feature of the band is frequent on heads with lunate openings (figs. 39 and 40), and continues to occur on leaf-shaped heads until quite the end of the Bronze Age. Concurrently with the appearance of the band the typical leaf-shaped head is marked by the thickening of the wings as they approach the midrib, into which they blend without showing any definite line of junction (fig. 44). The early leaf-shaped wings are thin where they abut on the midrib socket, and have a well-defined line of junction, whilst the later ones are so thick that they gradually merge into the socket, so that it is difficult to say where the wings end and the socket begins.<sup>b</sup>

The progress in the development of the spear-head had throughout been towards simplicity and efficiency, and this was carried out so fully in the leaf-shaped heads that there appears to be no further room for improvement in that

<sup>a</sup> See Dr. Henry Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, 279, No. 441; also footnote on next page.

<sup>b</sup> This thickening of the wings was probably to make the head more shapely by suggesting greater stability, and the increased amount of metal was subsequently obviated by making the thickened portion hollow.



direction. Henceforward any advance that was made was by means of economy in the use of metal, which at the same time reduced the weight. Some of the methods by which this economy of metal was accomplished were new, such as casting the head with hollow wings, but most of them were old methods carried to a higher perfection, such as the obvious one of making the head of a less size. All these methods seem to have been in use at the same time and to have continued until the end of the Bronze Age.

One of the new methods which came in with the early leaf-shaped heads was by piercing the wings with openings at their thickest part where they abut on the midrib socket. These openings are frequently lunate in shape, for that form is the best mode of lessening the amount of metal. The straight side of these openings is placed next to the midrib socket, while the curved side follows more or less the outline of the edge of the wings. These lunate openings not only economised metal and reduced weight, but also added to the appearance of the heads (fig. 40). In some of the smaller heads the openings are merely small circular holes (fig. 42). In others, especially in those of more than ordinary size, the larger opening is now and then supplemented by the addition of small circular holes in the narrower portions of the wings above and beneath the principal opening (fig. 43). Heads with lunate openings are not uncommon in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but are very rarely found outside those countries.\*

Another method of lessening the amount of metal, which only came in with the later leaf-shaped heads, was that of making the whole head hollow (fig. 45). As has already been stated, in the late leaf-shaped heads there is a gradual merging of the wings into the midrib socket. This feature, which produced a thickening of the wings as they approach the midrib, afforded room for extending the socket-cavity into the wings, thereby removing what would otherwise have been superfluous metal. This hollowness, which began by a very trifling extension of the socket-cavity, was finally carried to such an extent that many heads are merely shells, with walls in some cases less than one-twentieth of an inch in thickness. In these heads with thin walls the midrib is frequently absent, or only represented by a narrow bead (fig. 45); the hollow of the wings being so much increased that they include a great portion of the socket, and, in late examples, envelope it altogether. In the latter case, the section of the head is frequently of

\* Some spear-heads found in Italy, Hungary, etc. have small round holes at the base of their wings, but these do not seem in any way to represent the lunate openings or the loops on the socket found in the United Kingdom.

a lozenge shape, and in connexion with this it may be noticed that a great similarity exists between it and that of the contemporary sword-scabbard chapes (fig. 48). There appear to be no hollow heads outside the United Kingdom, because in foreign examples the wings are not thick enough to allow of their being made hollow.

Another method of saving metal was to make the head flatter. To accomplish this the head becomes less in substance transversely to the plane of the wings, as though the whole of it had been flattened out except the socket, which had to be left of adequate width to admit the shaft. In this case the hollow is only carried up far enough to give a sufficient hold upon the top of the shaft, and the midrib at that point suddenly becomes solid up to the point. This sudden reduction of the width of the midrib is seen in both front and side elevation of a head found near Newark (fig. 49). It is necessary that a careful examination of this feature should be made, as many of the semi-hollow late leaf-shaped heads just described present a very similar elevation when seen in front, though not when seen in profile, as in the case of a head from Heathery Burn Cave (fig. 50). It will be observed that in the front elevation of this example the midrib socket appears to taper suddenly, like the Newark example (fig. 49), but in the side elevation this is not the case. The cause of this is, that while the socket of fig. 50 is of an almost uniform taper, the wings become so thick that they include the greater part of the midrib socket, thus producing in elevation the effect of a sudden reduction of its width, from the point where the socket reaches the base of the wings. The head is really a slightly hollow one as will be seen by the section (fig. 50).

Another method of reducing the metal was by decreasing the width of the wings (fig. 51). The modern lance has no wings, its efficiency is practically centred in the shaft, the head being merely a point by which the piercing power of the weapon is increased. A pointed piece of metal fixed upon the head of the shaft is, therefore, the essential element of the spear-head, the wings being nothing more than a survival of the dagger, possibly maintained for the sake of appearance. The form and size of the wings in consequence is found to be much varied, without the efficiency of the weapon being affected. The economy of metal must always have been an important factor in the manufacture of the spear-head, and the most obvious method of carrying this out was to reduce the size of the entire head with the exception of the socket, the head thus becoming a mere tip of metal placed upon the end of the shaft (figs. 52 and 53). These heads are not those of javelins, as is the case with many of the earlier small examples, for the



width of their sockets (about one inch in diameter) show that they are the heads of a true spear. At the same time large heads continued to be made, and indeed predominated where economy was not of importance.

Contemporary with the later examples of the leaf-shaped socketed head there is one of a very distinct form, known as the barbed type (fig. 54). It is of two sizes; the larger one being quite double the length of the smaller (fig. 55). There is a difference, too, in the shape of the two sizes; the larger one has always a barbed termination of the wings, whilst in the smaller ones, though some have a barbed end like that of the larger ones, the base of the wings usually projects in a straight line at right angles from the socket to the edge of the wings. The barb, however, is not the only special feature of these heads, there being other distinctive characteristics which are not easily to be accounted for. One of these peculiarities is the way in which the blade is fixed on to the shaft. The fastening is made by means of a pin, sometimes of bronze, rounded at the ends, which projects on either side of the socket as far as the point of the barb, the effect being to destroy the action of the barb (fig. 57). They are also hollow, though the clay core has not been removed. The walls too are extremely thin, a fragment of one of those from the Thames, now in Dr. Corner's collection at Poplar, showing it to be less than one-twentieth of an inch in thickness. Although at first sight the barbed type appears to have little in common with the ordinary leaf-shaped form of spear-head, yet when examined it will be found to contain many of the constituent parts of that weapon in its latest developments, for instance it is hollow, and the wings sweep over to join each other without any midrib. Consequently the socket is lost as soon as it enters the wings. The hollow portion of the head is usually leaf-shaped, and if to the edges of this be added an extension to which the term fin may be applied, and their outer sides be carried down almost parallel to the axis of the head until stopped on the line of the slight barb seen in some hollow heads (fig. 46), the fins will form an exaggerated barb at the base and produce a typical example of the larger barbed head (fig. 58).

Both sizes of this form occasionally have lunate openings, a feature only occurring in the late period of the spear-head (fig. 57).

Though found associated with ordinary leaf-shaped heads, barbed heads seem to represent the last phase of the Bronze Age. They show unmistakeable signs of decadence, for the lunate openings, borrowed from those of the ordinary types, ill fit their position, and are placed so close together as to leave insufficient room to carry up an efficient shaft between them. This seems to account for the core

being commonly left in ; the short outer socket being alone used to receive the shaft.

The evolution of the spear-head from the dagger has now been traced through its principal sections, from the tanged blade to the late socketed head. There are, however, some varieties which do not appear to fall into the main line of descent from the dagger.

As in the case of the dagger, where there are plain as well as ribbed blades, so concurrently with the ribbed spear-heads, there was another form very similar, in which the wings are quite plain without any rib. Though most of the tanged spear-heads are ribbed and grooved, some are plain, as for example one from Plymstock, Devon.\* No example of an early plain socketed spear-head (Class II.) has hitherto been found ; such a form must, however, have existed, for the hollow on one side of a stone mould from Anglesea (fig. 83b) has been fashioned for casting a plain head with wings almost leaf-shaped which is also provided with a solid midrib and all the other features of the contemporary normal type.

In those of the next stage (Class III.), when the socket is extended into the blade, there are several examples with plain wings (figs. 59-63). In this class the loops still remain low down on the socket, in which feature they form an exception to the more usual type with ribs on the wings. If these heads were to be judged by the position of the loops it might be thought they were of an earlier time than that to which they belong ; on the other hand, if their plain leaf-shaped wings are alone to be taken into consideration, they might be regarded as belonging to a time later than their true date. The plain leaf-shape is the form to which the main stream of evolution tended, and the ribless type must have had an influence on that tendency towards the simple leaf-shape into which in the end all forms merged.

In connexion with these aberrant forms of spear-head another type requires to be mentioned. The dagger, though the earliest, was not the only weapon which served as a basis for the production of the spear-head, for the rapier, though in a subordinate way and at a later time, served a similar purpose. Very few examples are known of the spear-head which was based on the rapier. One found in the Thames at Taplow, now in the British Museum, and one in the museum at York (fig. 64), whose place of finding is not known, though probably it was in Yorkshire, are the only two which appear to have been discovered in Britain. In Ireland, however, they are more numerous, there being six in the Royal Irish

\* British Museum, *Guide to the Bronze Age Antiquities*, fig. 56.



Academy's Museum found in that country (fig. 65). The spear-heads of this type do not appear to have been long in use either in Britain or Ireland. The six Irish examples and that at York, which after all may be an Irish one, are precisely similar in all their features. In every case the loops are placed a short way down the socket, and are attached to the base of the wings by a narrow band; in this way they differ from the Thames example, where the loops (one of which is now wanting) are joined immediately on to the base of the wing.

This type, by an easy process, soon lost its rapier-like outline, all that was necessary to convert it into the form of the ordinary contemporary type being to modify the characteristic inward curve above the broadest part of the blade. The tendency to soften the angular outline of this type may be seen in two Irish examples (fig. 65) where the outline almost passes into that of the common form.

But, after all, the rapier was merely an elongated dagger. Thus all types of the Bronze Age spear-head may be traced back to the dagger blade modified for a new purpose, and the early spear-head retains in a marked way the salient features of its prototype.

There are many minor varieties which are merely modifications of typical forms, such as might suggest themselves to the individual maker, for example, those having wings of an ogee shape. These are usually small heads of late looped type like fig. 66, or late leaf-shaped (fig. 67), and are really javelins, though some large heads pierced by lunate openings round which the edge of the wings swells out assume a somewhat ogee shape, for example one from Whittingham (fig. 40).

It is necessary to note another form, which occurs in the Greek Islands and adjacent parts, but has not been found in the United Kingdom. These spear-heads, mostly of copper, have a socket formed of a flat plate turned round a conical mandrill, so that the socket has an open seam. This does not occur in any bronze spear-head found in the United Kingdom, where the cast socket appears to have been invented and used to the exclusion of any other method of fixing the head to the shaft.

From its first inception throughout the whole progress of its evolution, till it finally culminated in the hollow head, the spear-head of the United Kingdom has a character of its own, one quite different from those found elsewhere. In addition to the variety of forms through which it had developed in Great Britain and Ireland, in no other part of the world did the spear-head attain such perfection of form and fabric as it does in the countries in question. Some of the leaf-shaped examples, and even some of those of the earlier forms, are so skilfully made, so

beautifully proportioned, and so tastefully though simply ornamented, that they have scarcely been equalled, certainly not excelled, by the spear-heads of any other part of the world. The evolution of the spear-head to its ultimate form consisted in the gradual elimination of useless parts, in the course of which process the head became more simple and graceful in form, and better fitted for the use to which it was to be applied.

The spear-head has too frequently been regarded as a weapon perfected abroad before its introduction into the United Kingdom. This view has nothing to support it, and the numerous well-established facts in connexion with that weapon in the successive stages of its development are quite inconsistent with such an opinion. Unless, however, the progress of this evolution is systematically worked out, these facts are liable to be overlooked, nor is it without a full examination of the various changes which have taken place that the key to its history can be found, and a relative chronology elaborated.

Before giving a description of the Classification which has been arrived at after an examination and comparison of the different forms of spear-head discovered in the United Kingdom, a concise summary of the links in the line of change and progress which it underwent, may not be without its uses.

In the earliest period of the bronze culture the old method of heading the spear with bone or stone continued in use, and it was only after a considerable experience of metals had been gained that the new material was applied to the spear.

The origin of the bronze spear-head is to be sought in the small and rather weak knife (commonly called a knife-dagger), so frequently found associated with early burials. This eventually passed into the true dagger, which was the immediate parent of the spear-head, as it was equally of the rapier and the sword. The process by which this was brought about was by decreasing the width of the base of the dagger blade and by adding to it a narrow flat tang, with a peg hole at its termination, for the purpose of fixing it to the shaft. This tanged blade constitutes the first true spear-head of metal. The later and more efficacious mode of using a socket to unite the two component parts of a spear was doubtless not at first adopted, as the metal founders of that time were unable to cast hollow over a core.

The next change, a very important one, was made by the addition of a ferrule, which enclosed the wood through which the tang was carried. This must, in some degree, have prevented the wood splitting and the head being torn



from the shaft. The head thus constituted was speedily improved still further by the omission of the tang and by the amalgamation of the ferrule with the blade. This, however, did not materially alter the appearance of the head, though it added much to the firmness of the hold which the two parts of the spear had on each other. By this process a head was produced which was provided with a socket, though at that time the cavity was not carried up into the blade. To this short socket in some cases loops were added, possibly for the purpose of strengthening the attachment of the head to the shaft.

The next step was the extension of the socket up into the blade. When this extension took place the loops are found to be an invariable appendage to the head. This is the case equally when they are placed on the socket, when they are attached to the base of the wings of the blade, and when they become incorporated with and form an integral part of the blade itself. The next change, and essentially the final one, was made when the loops as a practical part of the head passed out of use as a mode of attachment, to be replaced by a pin of wood or bronze passing through the shaft and two perforations in the socket. In some instances pin holes are found in the sockets of earlier forms of spear-heads; it is only, however, at this stage that they become universal.

The leaf-shaped socketed form, if we may judge from the relative number of the type which have been discovered, appears to have been in use during a longer time than any other. It is, moreover, essentially the type which almost exclusively prevailed in all other countries where a bronze spear-head existed. It was not, however, in those countries the product of an evolution through other forms, but seems to have made its appearance there when in a perfected state. This fact, which cannot be controverted, may perhaps claim for Great Britain and Ireland that not only did the socketed head originate there independently, but further, that from thence it passed into those countries of Europe and elsewhere where it has been found.

#### CLASSIFICATION.

Class I.—*Tanged*.—The blade is similar to that of the dagger. It has a narrow tang attached to the base, which has a hole at the end, where in some cases there is a rivet still left (figs. 5 and 6).

Class IA.—Similar blade and tang, to which a metal ferrule is added (figs. 7 and 8).

Class II.—*Early Socketed*.—The tang is omitted, the ferrule becoming a socket cast in one piece with the blade. The socket still resembles the

ferrule of Class Ia., but the mouth is only simulated, and, at times, there are simulated rivet heads as well. The cavity of the socket does not extend into the blade. Some examples have holes for a pin (figs. 9 and 12), others have loops on the socket but no pin hole (figs. 11 and 13).

Class III.—*Ribbed Wings and Loops*.—The cavity of the socket is carried up into the blade under the midrib, which becomes more accentuated. This extension of the socket into the blade divides the head, and gives rise to the wings. In the earliest heads the blade retains the more or less diamond shape of the previous class. The short base line of the wings is still concave, and is blunt on the edge. In the late heads a rib is at times substituted for the inner edge of the bevel. The socket below the wings has in every case a loop at each side in the plane of the wings (figs. 16, 17, 18, and 19). The loops are sometimes placed near the base of the wings and are frequently joined to them by a strap (fig. 20).

Class IIIA.—This form has a midrib socket similar to that of the previous class, but the loops have moved up to the base of the wings, which sometimes retain the strongly bevelled edge, whilst in other examples a rib takes the place of the ridge, which is now parallel to the midrib socket, and is carried down to form the loops at the base of the wings. They have also a groove down each side of the midrib, separating it from the ribs on the wings. The edge of the base of the wings in many cases turns sharply inwards in a straight line at right angles to the socket, and joins the loops (figs. 22 and 23). In others the edge slopes in a curve at the base to join the loops (figs. 25 and 26).

Class IV.—*The Plain Type*.—The head is leaf-shaped, and the wings are ribless, and without grooves. The loops are low down on the socket (figs. 59-63).

Class IVA.—*The Rapier Type*.—The wings have the characteristic angular break in their outline, below which the edge is blunt. The loops are sometimes placed near the base of the wings and joined to them by a strap (figs. 64 and 65). At other times the loops are placed at the base of the wings, as in the head from the Thames now in the British Museum.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Guide to the Bronze Age Antiquities*, fig. 45.



Class IV<sub>B</sub>.—*Ribless Looped*.—This form has a midrib socket similar to that of Class III. extending up the middle of a plain, ribless, leaf-shaped plate which forms the wings. The loops are sometimes placed at the base of the wings (fig. 28), at other times they are included in the wings themselves (fig. 29).

Class V.—This form is commonly known as the *leaf-shaped*,<sup>a</sup> and constitutes a numerically larger class than any other. The loops have quite disappeared. The socket is almost always provided with two holes for a pin or peg to fasten the head to the shaft, a mode of attachment which continued throughout the remainder of the time that the bronze spear-head was in use. Some examples have flat wings, but in the majority the wings thicken more or less as they approach the midrib. This class frequently has lunate and other openings in the wings (figs. 31, 32, and 33).

Class V<sub>A</sub>.—The wings in this class are set on a band or bands on either side of the midrib socket. Some examples have lunate openings round which the band is sometimes carried (figs. 35, 36, and 40).

Class V<sub>B</sub>.—*Hollow Heads*.—The heads of this form are leaf-shaped in outline, but their section is more or less diamond-shaped. The midrib is so enveloped by the wings that at times it is lost. Some examples have lunate openings (figs. 41, 45, 46, and 47).

Class V<sub>C</sub>.—This form is very similar to Class V. in outline, but the midrib socket has an uneven taper, suddenly narrowing and ending in a solid tip (fig. 49).

Class VI.—*Barbed* (figs. 54, 55, and 56). This occurs in two sizes. The short are usually not truly barbed, but have a rectangular return at the base of the wings. This class sometimes has lunate openings (fig. 57).

The looped types of Class III. show the greatest variation in size, ranging from some not 2 inches long to others of such large proportions that they can scarcely be regarded as having been made for use in war or the chase, but were intended for ceremonial purposes. One found at Croydon is still  $31\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, but the point is missing, and it was originally not less than 35 inches.

<sup>a</sup> The name of "leaf-shaped" is to some extent misleading, for, as has already been said, many looped heads are also leaf-shaped. Nevertheless, the name is so well known and understood that it is on the whole best to retain it.

## HOARDS.

The most valuable source of information in regard to the stages through which the spear-head passed, in the course of its development, are the hoards or other deposits of weapons and implements which have been discovered in various parts of the United Kingdom. It is true that much may be learned from single examples of the various types, but that knowledge is greatly increased when spear-heads are met with in association with other instruments which have themselves passed through similar stages of evolution. Such deposits are, however, uncommon, and consist most frequently of objects which belong to the later period of the bronze culture. This is only what might be expected, for in the earlier period of the use of bronze, when the metal was scarce and therefore valuable, the number of manufactured articles would in consequence be few, and would naturally be more jealously looked after than when they were common and in the possession of a larger number of people.

The evidence which otherwise might have been provided by the contents of places of burial is wanting, for, as has already been stated, the spear-head has never been found as an accompaniment of an interment, except in the case of a cist at Snowhill, near Broadway in Gloucestershire, where besides the bones of an unburnt body there were deposited the spear-head in question (fig. 8),<sup>a</sup> a war axe of stone (fig. 69), a dagger of ordinary form (fig. 4), and a pin, both made of bronze.<sup>b</sup>

When the evidence of hoards or other deposits apart from interments has to be considered, the material is scanty, very few having been found which show the earliest stages of the bronze spear-head. The most important one is that discovered at Arretton Down, so often referred to above. Among the various articles

<sup>a</sup> The so-called spear-heads mentioned by Sir Richard Colt Hoare in his *History of Ancient Wiltshire*, pp. 67, 76, 123, 185, 203, 211, 242, are all preserved in the museum at Devizes, and are without exception daggers. Though of such a discovery there is no reliable record, spear-heads may possibly have been found in a British barrow, but so has a hoard of shillings of Elizabeth. The point is not whether they have been found in barrows, but whether they were there associated with the primary or any other interment. Early accounts of the openings of barrows are not to be relied upon. Before any weight can be given to such accounts it must be known that they can be depended upon, and that the articles were found under such circumstances as to show that they were placed there in association with an interment, and not casually. In the United Kingdom no bronze spear-heads of a later period than that of Snowhill seem to have been found associated with a burial.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, lii. 70.



which constituted that find, all of which belong to the early Bronze Age, were slightly flanged axes, daggers, and spear-heads of three different forms (Classes I., IA, and II.). The spear-heads illustrate, however, in the most striking way the course of the evolution of that weapon, and the rapidity of its development, indicating how active was the inventive faculty of the people of the time. At Plymstock, Devon, in 1868, a somewhat similar series of implements was found, among which were a tanged blade, three daggers, a chisel, and sixteen slightly-flanged axes, very similar to those of the Arreton Down hoard.<sup>a</sup>

When the spear-head with loops attached to the base of the wings (Class IIIA.) came into use, the deposit of various articles in hoards becomes more frequent, though they are still by no means common. The contents of the following hoards will show some instances where the looped spear-head has been found in association with other articles of bronze:

STIBBARD, Norfolk.—One spear-head with loops at the base of the wings was found with flanged axes.<sup>b</sup>

MAENTWOG, Merionethshire.—A spear-head which has loops at the base of the wings, the ribs running down to form them, was found with three rapier blades.<sup>c</sup>

NETTLEHAM, near Lincoln, 1860.—One small spear-head, with loops at the base of the wings; one leaf-shaped head, with wings on bands; one butt end of a spear; four flanged axes; two socketed axes.<sup>d</sup>

These three hoards are in the British Museum.

When the leaf-shaped type, with its many variations, became the universal spear-head in the United Kingdom, deposits became more common. The large number of spear-heads of this type, which have been found singly or many together, appears to show that the period during which this form was in use was a long one, and that bronze was a common material. They have been discovered in association with swords, deeply flanged axes, and much more commonly with socketed ones, chisels, gonges, knives, trumpets, ornaments of gold, amber, and jet; in fact with all the numerous weapons, implements, and ornaments which belong to the highest development of the bronze culture in the United Kingdom. On the other hand they have not occurred in connexion with the knife-dagger, the flat or slightly flanged axe, nor with any of the bronze articles which belong to

<sup>a</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, xxvi. 346.

<sup>b</sup> *Archaeological Institute*, Norwich Volume, 36.

<sup>c</sup> *Archaeologia*, xvi. 365.

<sup>d</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, xviii. 159.

the earlier stages of the culture of the Bronze Age. The evidence we possess points to the fact that the leaf-shaped head came into existence contemporaneously with the socketed axe and the sword.

It will not be necessary to mention all the hoards where they have been found, but it may be well to notice some of those which possess more than ordinary value on account of the number of the articles deposited and their variety.

By far the most important of these discoveries was that made in the Heathery Burn Cave, near Stanhope, in the county of Durham, where the whole equipment of a family, containing almost all the articles known to have been in use at the height of the Bronze Age, was brought to light. The place where they were found was either one where they lived permanently or where they had taken temporary refuge, and where they had apparently been overwhelmed by drowning.<sup>a</sup>

A hoard found at Wallington, Northumberland, contained four leaf-shaped spear-heads (one having "protected loops"), three armlets, three swords, associated with fifteen axe-heads, some of which were deeply flanged and others socketed.<sup>b</sup>

Another hoard found at Whittingham, Northumberland, must belong to a yet later period; in fact, quite the culmination of the Bronze Age in these islands. It contained one small leaf-shaped spear-head, one large semi-hollow spear-head, one large spear-head with lunate openings (fig. 40), together with an antennæ-hilted sword.<sup>c</sup>

At Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire, hollow spear-heads, together with butt ends of spears, swords and sword-scabbard chapes, etc. were discovered associated in a hoard.<sup>d</sup>

In Ireland the most instructive hoard is that found at Dowris, King's County.<sup>e</sup> In that hoard a large number of the latest type of leaf-shaped spear-heads, some with lunate openings, were found associated with socketed axes, knives, swords, trumpets, etc.

The supposed hoards which have come to light in dredging operations in river beds and similar places cannot be regarded as proof that the articles so found were contemporary. There may be brought up by the dredger in a single

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, liv. 87-114.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia Eliana*, 2nd S. i. 13.

<sup>c</sup> *Proceedings*, 2nd S. v. 429.

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<sup>d</sup> *Proceedings*, 2nd S. ii. 251.

<sup>e</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, iv. 237.



operation not only an original deposit but also other objects brought to the same spot by the action of the river. Articles found at a ford may also have been lost at very different times. There are, however, some such discoveries, which, from the nature of the articles met with and other circumstances, may rank as true contemporary deposits. The contents of the Erith hoard, part of which is in the Greenwell Collection (British Museum), may be adduced.

### MOULDS AND METHOD OF MANUFACTURE.

In addition to the evidence afforded by the weapons and implements themselves, the finding of them in an unfinished state, as the stock in trade of the founder or vendor, with the moulds in which they were cast, affords ample proof that these various products of bronze were manufactured within the area in which they occur.

It has been contended by some authorities that prior to the use of bronze there was a relatively short period during which, in the United Kingdom, more especially in Ireland, copper without any alloy was used for weapons and other implements. The question is one, however, which need not be discussed here, as no spear-head of pure copper has been found in the islands in question, though plain axe-heads and halbert-heads of that metal, or with a very small amount of tin, are not uncommon. Unalloyed copper when melted is thick and sluggish to run, which makes it difficult to cast except in an open mould. Such open moulds, made of stone, for casting flat axes are known, but none have been met with for casting spear-heads.

The moulds first used for casting spear-heads were probably made of stone in two halves, which when fitted together left a hollow space the exact shape of the object to be produced. This would suffice for casting the tanged type, and moulds of that pattern have been found at Omagh in Ireland (figs. 77, 78, and 79).

When a socket was required it was necessary before running the metal into the mould to insert a conical core to prevent the metal from filling what was to be the cavity of the socket. No cores, however, have been found with the moulds, for this being within the metal head was subsequently raked out. The barbed heads are an exception to this rule, part of the core being still left within the head. The core was probably made of clay, having a large point to steady it, though in many cases these moulds are provided with notches to hold a short bar of wire for the same purpose (fig. 83). Where this wire was thin, as it was in

most early examples, it would become part of the casting, the projecting portion being cleaned off on finishing the weapon; when it was thicker, it would chill the metal as it ran in, and would leave a hole which was afterwards used for the pin, as is shown in an unfinished head from Mörigen on the Lake of Bienné, in the Greenwell Collection [British Museum] (fig. 71). At a time contemporary with Class V., moulds of clay or sand seem to have come into use, but not to have altogether replaced those of stone. Most of these have perished, but fragments of some of clay for casting a spear-head and a sword were found at Whitpark Bay, co. Antrim, and others for casting swords are in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. Portions of clay moulds for casting spear-heads, etc. have been found in Brittany, the Lake of Bienné, and other places.\* At yet a later time in the Bronze Age, and more especially for complicated hollow castings, a method of moulding in clay with the aid of wax came into use. At the present day, statuary, etc. is cast by what is probably an identical method, known as the *cire perdue* process. No such moulds are known to exist, as indeed was to be expected, for they had necessarily to be broken up to extract the article which was enclosed. It is only by such means, however, that hollow spear-heads, such as that from Fenny Bentley, trumpets, and other instruments could be cast. The early core was a mere conical piece of clay placed in the mould so as to produce a cavity in the casting, and was quite secondary to the general scheme of the mould, but when the plan of casting with the aid of wax was introduced, the core then became the base of the scheme, its production being the first step in the process. The metal which replaced the wax thus became merely a skin over the core, and was usually of almost uniform thickness. This uniformity possessed a technical advantage, for as castings cool first from the surface, if some parts are appreciably thicker than others the metal in that part will be still in a molten state, whilst the rest solidifies, causing liability to strains and distortion. Bronze made of one part of tin to nine of copper shrinks in cooling  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch in every 2 inches. At first when the hollow was trifling in size the saving in metal and weight was very slight, but as the process advanced the metal became so thin as to bring about a very considerable saving. The hollow head from the Thames (fig. 45) weighs seven ounces, but had it been cast solid it would have weighed two pounds. It was, therefore, the incidence of manufacture, and not merely an attempt to save metal which led to the invention of casting hollow heads.

Probably the earliest and certainly the most interesting series of stone moulds is that found at Omagh in Ireland, which has been described by Mr. Coffey in

\* Evans, 449.



a paper entitled "Moulds for Primitive Spear-Heads found in County Tyrone." These moulds are made of sandstone, and have varied half moulds cut on the front and back of each. They were intended for casting tanged and early socketed spear-heads. These moulds present many difficulties: one (fig. 79) is for casting a tanged blade of a similar type to Class I., but differs from that in having the midrib of the blade continued down the tang. No weapon having this feature is known, and it would apparently be detrimental to the hafting of the blade without any corresponding advantage being gained, since the shaft would be materially weakened by the amount of wood necessarily cut away for its admittance.

Fig. 78 is a mould for casting a similar head, but without any tang or other apparent means of attachment. The moulds may have been cut short at some period later than that of their manufacture, or more probably the blade may have been intended to have been cast in one mould and a socket in another, the two being subsequently united by fusing, as has occurred in the case of some Greek spear-heads. No weapon formed in this way, however, which belongs to such an early period of the Bronze Age is known. Fig. 81 was intended for casting a looped socket which would fit a blade such as would be cast in fig. 78. No separate looped ferrules, however, are known. Fig. 80 was made for casting a tanged blade, the tang, however, is much too short to be efficient, and it may be that the mould was once longer.

The mould (fig. 83) was found in the western part of Anglesea.<sup>a</sup> It is cut in an oblong stone of rectangular section which has a half mould on each of the four sides. Fig. 83A is for casting the early socketed type of spear-head, Class II., and shows the characteristic obtuse point and simulated jaws which mark the division between the socket and the solid dagger-like blade. On either side of the mould near the base of the blade is a notch intended to hold the ends of a short bar of wire which passed through the core to steady it. The cavity of the socket extended very little further than this point, and the blade above has a narrow solid midrib. There are semi-circular grooves on the lower portion of the socket for forming loops. Fig. 83B shows the other side of the same mould with much the same features. The blade is in form more leaf-shaped, of the plain ribless type. Another mould of very similar character was found in Loch Gur, Limerick, and is now in the British Museum.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxxvii. part 2, 1907.

<sup>b</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, iii. 257, and vi. 358.

<sup>c</sup> *Guide to the Bronze Age Antiquities*, fig. 53.

Although stone moulds found in the United Kingdom are usually for casting early forms of the spear-head, yet abroad, where the leaf-shaped head prevailed, moulds for casting that form are not uncommon.

Two stone moulds from Ireland, in the Greenwell Collection [British Museum] (figs. 84 and 85), one from Maghera, Londonderry, and the other from Little Ballymena, Antrim, were intended for casting a head which has loops joined to the base of the wings by a narrow band. They have a narrow rib up the midrib socket similar to fig. 20.

### BUTTS.

In most cases no metal termination seems to have been attached to the butt end of the shaft, but some of those belonging to the later Bronze Age were provided with a bronze butt. This consists of a tapering tube, which generally has a flat end (fig. 76), though in some cases the end is pointed (fig. 75), and now and then it has a bulbous or trumpet-mouth termination. In an Irish specimen,\* which has only one peg hole, the end has been so much worn as to expose the hollow within, which seems to show that the spear was at times trailed along the ground behind the owner.

Butts are cast in one piece and carefully cored, and have usually two holes for fixing them to the shaft by means of a peg. They vary in length from about 8 to 16 inches, and the mouth is usually about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter, or rather less. The mouth is always less in diameter than that of the socket of the heads found associated with them, indicating that the shaft tapered to the butt end.

### SHAFTS.

Many spear-heads, especially those from river beds, still contain that part of the shaft which was enclosed within the socket. This appears to have been made principally of ash, but some of pinewood have been met with. As no complete spear-shaft has been found, it is impossible to say what was its length. There is one in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (No. 162), which was found at Edenderry, King's County, Ireland. It is now 3 feet 10 inches long, but it is broken and a part is missing.

\* Now in the Greenwell Collection (British Museum).



## RIVETS AND PEGS OR PINS.

The heads of the tanged type were sometimes fixed by a wooden pin, and at others by a bronze rivet, similar to but longer than those by which the haft of the dagger blade was secured (figs. 5 and 6).

Actual rivets are unknown in socketed heads, though simulated rivet heads are found on those of the early socketed form, Class II. (figs. 9 and 11). They are survivals from the actual rivet heads of the tanged type (fig. 8). The true rivets in those of the tanged type are always placed at right angles to the plane of the blade, while pins or pegs in the socketed heads are parallel to the plane, and when not so placed are probably later additions, as are some pin holes in looped heads. In these cases the heads were originally without peg holes, the intention being to fasten the head to the shaft by means of the loops. From some cause, probably at a time when pins were the common mode of attachment, the peg holes were drilled in the socket and the loops superseded as a mode of fastening. (See fig. 19.)

The pin or peg, by which some of the early and all the late socketed spear-heads were fixed to the shaft, has commonly been called a rivet. It is really a peg, and supplies a fastening much superior to that which was provided by the loops. Those made of wood sometimes remain, but as none of bone or horn has been found, the peg does not seem to have been commonly, if ever, made of these materials. In some rare cases, most frequently in those of the barbed form, the pin was made of bronze (fig. 57). The following examples of bronze pins in ordinary leaf-shaped heads are known: one from the Thames, now in the British Museum; one from Lakenheath, now in the Evans Collection; and one from Ireland in the collection of Mr. Day, of Cork (No. 112). These pegs usually project, though slightly, beyond the socket, but there is one in the British Museum from the river Thames, near Windsor, that has the ends of the pin flush with the side of the socket.

In the British Museum there are two leaf-shaped socketed heads without loops, which are also without peg holes, they must therefore have depended entirely on the grip the socket got on the head of the shaft for their attachment.

The knife, which has sometimes been called a spear-head, like the axe, only developed a socket late in the Bronze Age. The cavity is short and elliptical (fig. 70), never round like that of the spear, and has the pin holes at right angles to the plane of the blade, the reverse of those which are found in the spear-head.

## LOOPS.

That the loops were cast in a semi-circular form and subsequently flattened by hammering down is proved by the moulds (figs. 83 and 84). This process of hammering produced a flat bridge more or less of a lozenge form (figs. 60 and 61).\*

This flattened bridge was continued when the loops were moved up to form a portion of the base of the wings (fig. 28), and even when the loops moved into the wings themselves they seem to have survived in the so-called "protected loops" (fig. 29). This feature could not have been intended, as has been suggested, to prevent the cutting of the thong, for the openings with their raised outer edge are always placed close to the midrib socket, which projecting higher than the so-called protector would therefore itself prevent the thong being cut.

The question of the loops presents many difficulties. Why did they supersede the use of the pin as a mode of fastening? a mode which is so much more efficient and which eventually was reintroduced and became universal. The reason may be that the method of securing the flint heads was to lash them into a split at the end of the shaft, or more probably into a slightly broader piece of wood or horn which formed the "foreshaft" or intermediary between the shaft and the head (fig. 68). In the tanged type the addition of a thong was probably resorted to in order to bind the head of the spear more firmly to the shaft; it may thus, as the traditional method of fixing the spear-head, have superseded the use of the pin, over which method of fastening it had also this advantage, that it does not weaken the shaft. Even if the shaft were broken at the socket the thong would still prevent the metal head being lost.

Again it may be asked why were the loops moved upwards? They certainly were so, and when near the base of the wings the latter seem to be extended down by means of a short band to join the loops (fig. 20). At a later time they passed into the wings themselves. At first they were placed somewhat low down, but eventually they were moved to a somewhat more balanced position (fig. 40), where they form lunate openings and thus serve quite a different purpose from

\* The loops of a head from the river Thames at Wandsworth deserve special notice, for though of the usual diamond shape yet upon examination they will be found to be built up by the insertion of a bridge piece between two projecting spurs, which have been subsequently riveted over the ends of the bridge; nor does this appear to have been a repair, for both loops are similarly constructed (fig. 16).



that of their origin. Lunate openings are not confined to any one class, being found in Classes V., VA., VB., and VI.

Another difficulty is created by the nature of the loops, which in some cases have an opening so narrow that no effective thong could be passed through them (fig. 62). There are instances where there is no opening at all, but these may perhaps be survivals. There is an example from the Thames, now in the Tower of London (fig. 30), where oval loops form an integral portion of the socket and have no opening whatever. That this is not the case of an unfinished article is clearly shown by the signs it exhibits of having been used.

Another difficulty arises from the fact that if loops were used on the head, it would be necessary to have some means of attaching the thong to the shaft.

### DECORATION.

Throughout the whole series of spear-heads, from the tanged blades onwards, decoration to a greater or less extent is occasionally found. On the tanged blades the ornamentation is simple, and confined to a single grooved line or to a series of such lines, which run parallel to the edge of the blade. This decorative grooving, but in a different position, is continued upon those heads which constitute the first development from the tanged type, when a ferrule, and afterwards a socket, has been added. The grooved lines in these forms encircle the ferrule and socket at either end, and probably are a survival of the wrapping of thong used in the earlier form to aid in fixing the head to the shaft. When the spear-head developed into the later looped type, and still more when it reached the leaf-shaped form, designs of a much more varied character were employed, both on the blade and on the socket, such as a series of alternate vertical and horizontal lines, zigzag and triangular figures, and others characteristic of the decorative work of the Bronze Age. In some rare instances the ornamentation occurs on raised bands placed on the socket.\* Gold is found filling the grooves in lines encircling the socket of a spear-head from Lough Gur, Limerick, Ireland,<sup>b</sup> and in one case it occurs in the shape of imitative rivet-heads placed on the blade.<sup>c</sup>

Two unusually decorated heads deserve special mention. The first, in the collection of the Rev. William Greenwell, at Durham, is a small narrow leaf-shaped

\* Evans, fig. 393.

<sup>b</sup> Evans, fig. 379.

<sup>c</sup> British Museum, *Guide to the Bronze Age Antiquities*, fig. 45.

spear-head with a socket which has been broken and ground flat in modern times, and has in it four peg holes, all of which are modern insertions. It was found in the county of Dublin (fig. 73). It possesses more than one peculiarity, and belongs no doubt to the latest period of the bronze spear-head. It has upon each wing on either face a figure consisting of a small grooved ring surrounded by a second similar ring, which is joined in two cases by a single grooved line to another double ring. In the other two figures there is attached in one case a single line which curves at the bottom, in the other a double line with a similar curved end. The second (fig. 74), a very remarkable head, found, it is said, with another like it, near Boho, County Fermanagh, has been published by Mr. George Coffey in the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*.<sup>a</sup> It has figures on it somewhat similar to those of the Dublin head, but arranged in a different and peculiar fashion. Figures of precisely the same kind occur not infrequently on a large and late form of the socketed axe.

It may now be desirable to give an account of the places where some of the rare types have been found.

## CLASS I.

## ENGLAND.

- Arreton Down, Isle of Wight. British Museum.
- Burwell Fen, Cambridge. Evans Collection (Evans, p. 256).
- Hintlesham, Suffolk. Two, in B. M.
- Matlock, Derbyshire. Evans Collection (Evans, fig. 326).
- Newbury, Berks (fig. 5). B. M. (*Archaeological Association Journal*, xvi. 322.)
- Plynstock, Devon. B. M. (*Archaeological Journal*, xxvi.) (Evans, 327.)
- Stratford-le-Bow, Essex. B. M. (Evans, fig. 325).
- Swaffham Fen, Cambridge. Cambridge Museum.

## SCOTLAND.

- Whithaugh, Ayrshire. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times, Stone and Bronze*, fig. 185.

## IRELAND.

- One from Westmeath. Day Collection.
- One from Westmeath. Royal Irish Academy.
- One in the Petrie Collection.
- One in the Grainger Collection, Belfast Museum.

## CLASS Ia.

## ENGLAND.

- Arreton Down, now lost (fig. 7). (*Archæologia*, xxxvi. 326.)
- Snowhill, in Gloucestershire. B. M. (Fig. 8.)

<sup>a</sup> N. S. iv. (1898), 120. This head (fig. 74) has a faceted socket, which is a very rare feature in the United Kingdom.



CLASS II. EARLY SOCKETED.

This type has been regarded as specially Irish, though it has been found in England, Scotland, and the Isle of Man.

The following examples of this class are known :

ENGLAND.

Arreton Down, now in the Greenwell Collection. B. M. Has simulated rivets, but no loops (fig. 9).

River Thames, Lloyd Collection, now in the Richmond (Surrey) Museum. Has no loops (fig. 12).

One in the British Museum, fig. 72 in *Guide*. Locality unknown.

Quy-cum-Stow, Cambridge. In Antiquarian Museum, Cambridge. Has no loops.

One in the Antiquarian Museum, Cambridge. Locality unknown.

SCOTLAND.

One in the Crichton Royal Institute, Dumfries. Simulated rivets, but no loops.

One from Lanarkshire (Evans, 326). Loops, but no simulated rivets.

One looped from Cumlongan, Dumfriesshire, 1882. Now in the Evans Collection.

One from Dean Water, Forfarshire. Now in the National Museum, Edinburgh, No. D. G. 23.

One from Douglas. In the National Museum, Edinburgh, No. D. G. 36.

IRELAND.

Thirteen in the Royal Irish Academy.

One in the Collection of Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A., Cork.

One from Tullamore, King's County, 1881. Now in Evans Collection.

ISLE OF MAN.

One from Peel, looped, engraved. (*Archaeological Journal*, ii. 187, and iii. 390.)

HOLLOW HEADS.

Hoard from Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire, now in the British Museum. Contains, besides other articles, six heads or parts of heads. See *Proceedings Soc. Antiq.* 2nd S. ii. 249. One with lunate openings. (Fig. 41.)

A hoard found at Stokeferry, Norfolk. Six fragments. Evans Collection.

Fenny Bently, Derbyshire. In British Museum.

One from the Thames. Found at Richmond, 1886. Greenwell Collection. B. M. (Fig. 45.)

One found in Burwell Fen. Now in Evans Collection.

A fragment from Llantisilio, Denbighshire. Greenwell Collection. B. M. (Fig. 47.)

A fragment. Edinburgh Museum. D. Q. Cat. 14.

One from the Thames in the Lloyd Collection. (Fig. 46.)

One from Middleton, Yorks., 1859, now in the Antiquarian Museum, Cambridge.

One from Swaffham, Cambs., 1892. Foster Bequest. Antiquarian Museum, Cambridge.

One from Aldreth, Cambs. In Cambridge Museum.

One from the Robinson Irish Collection, now in the York Museum, has lunate openings. (Fig. 43.)

Also barbed heads.



Fig. 1. Kingston-on-Thames. [B. M.]



Fig. 2. British Museum.

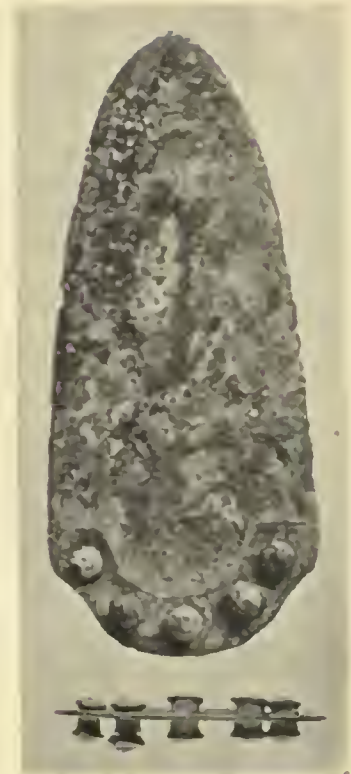


Fig. 3. Homington. [B. M.]



Fig. 4. Snowhill. [B. M.]



Fig. 6. Arreton Down. [B. M.]

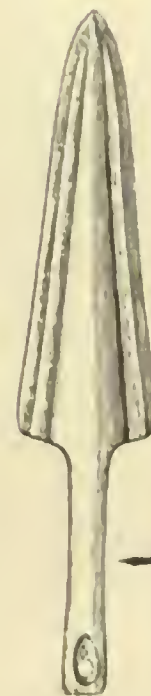


Fig. 5. Newbury. [B. M.]







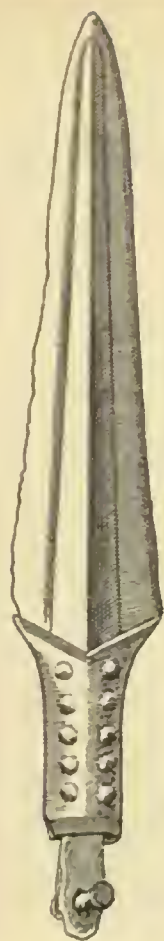


Fig. 7. Arreton Down.  
(Lost.)

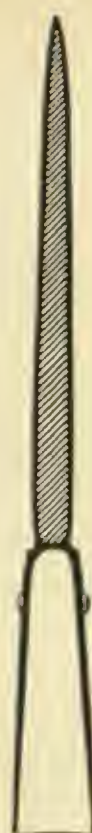
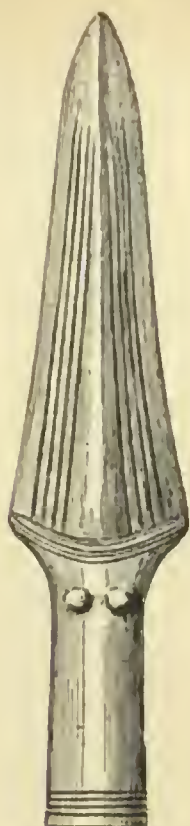


Fig. 9.  
Arreton Down.  
[B. M.]

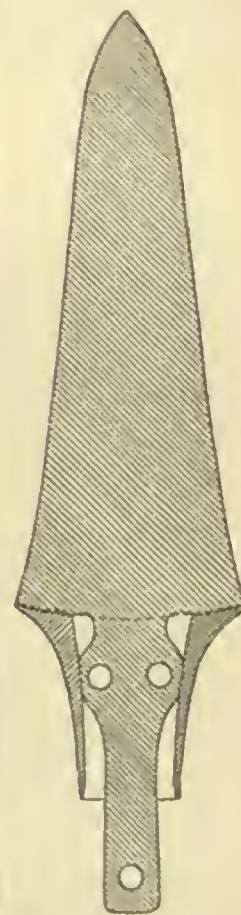
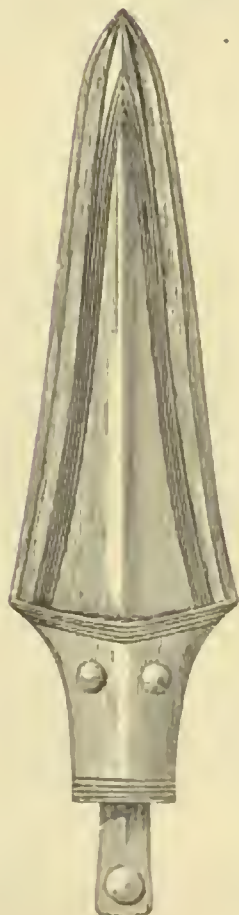


Fig. 8. Snowhill. [B. M.]





NOTE.—Figs. 10, 11 [B. M.].  
Fig. 12 [Lloyd Collection, Richmond].



NOTE.—Figs. 13, 14, 15, are from  
Kildare Street Museum, Dublin.  
By the kindness of Geo. Coffey, Esq.

Fig. 10. Snowhill, Arreton Down.

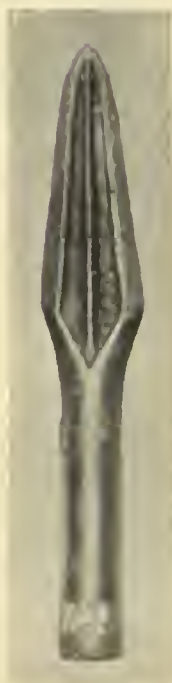


Fig. 11 [British Museum].

Fig. 12. From River Thames.

Fig. 13.

Fig. 14.

Fig. 15.

EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)





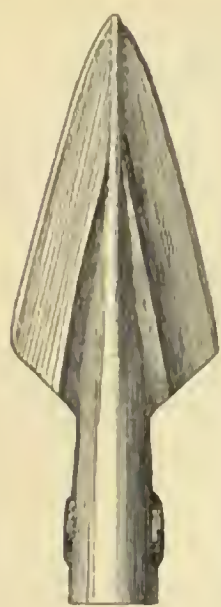


Fig. 16. River Thames at Wandsworth.  
[B. M.]



Fig. 17. Rostrevor Down. [B. M.]



Fig. 18. Kirkhills.  
[B. M.]

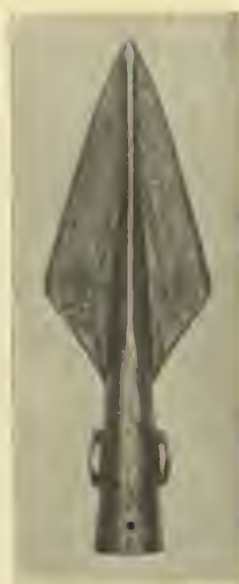


Fig. 19. Oughtersdell.  
[B. M.]

EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.





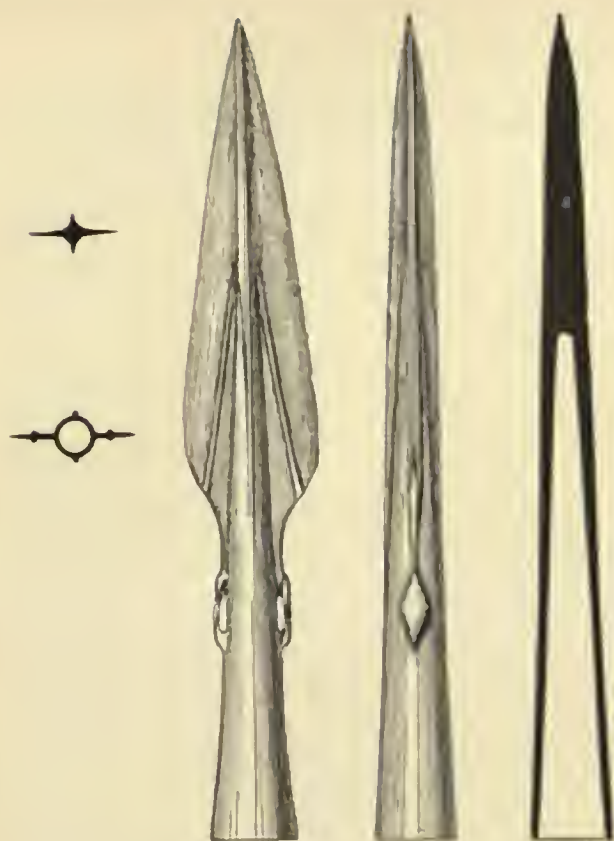


Fig. 20. Bush Mills. [B. M.]

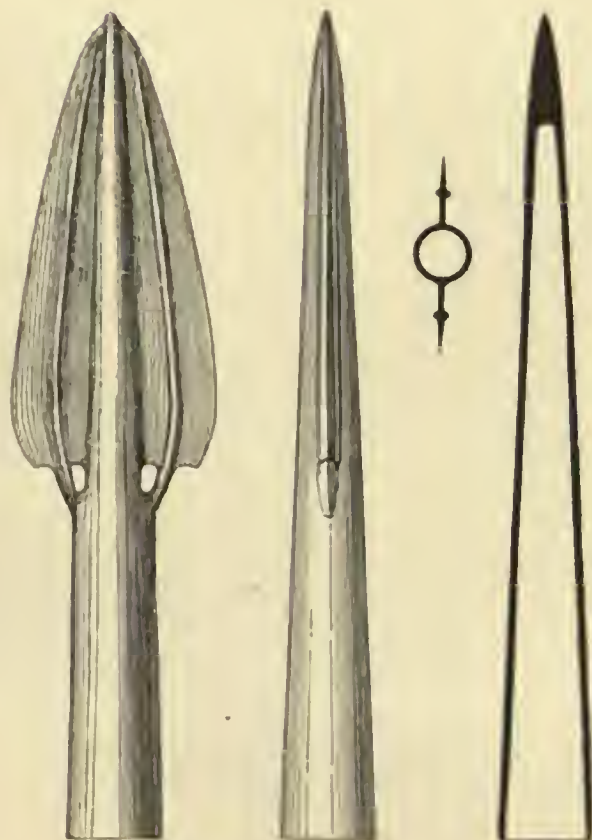


Fig. 21. Elford, Northumberland. [B. M.]

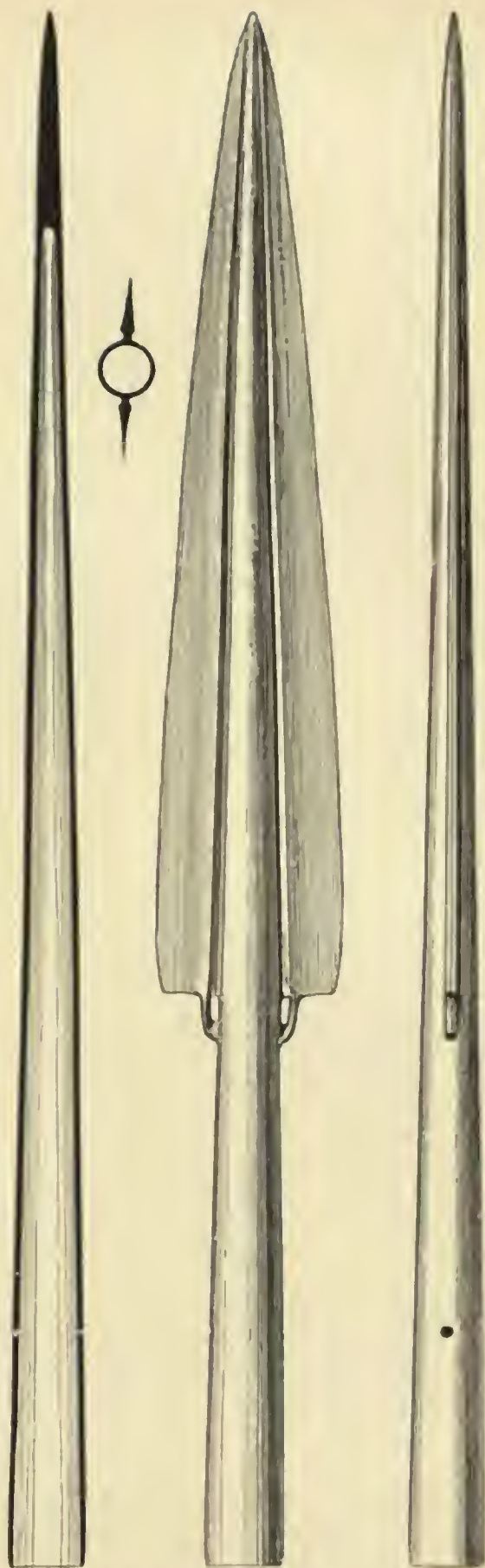


Fig. 22. River Thames at Teddington. [B. M.]





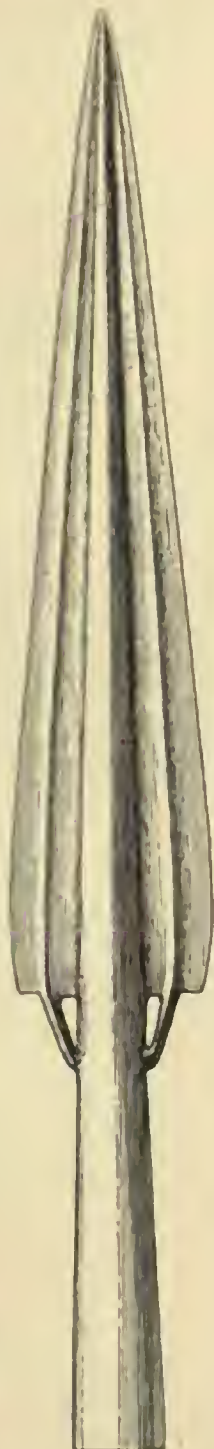


Fig. 24. Teddlington  
[B. M.]

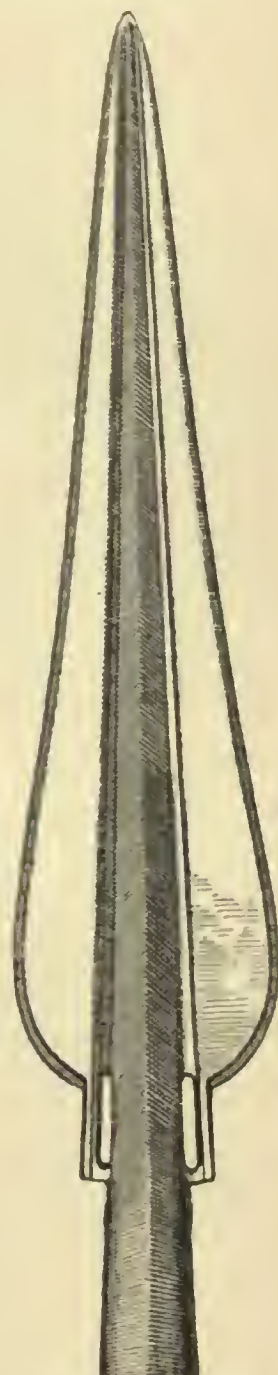


Fig. 25. Knockane. [B. M.]

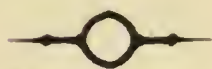


Fig. 23. Hammersmith. [B. M.]

EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.







Fig. 26. River Thames.  
[Lloyd Collection, Richmond.]

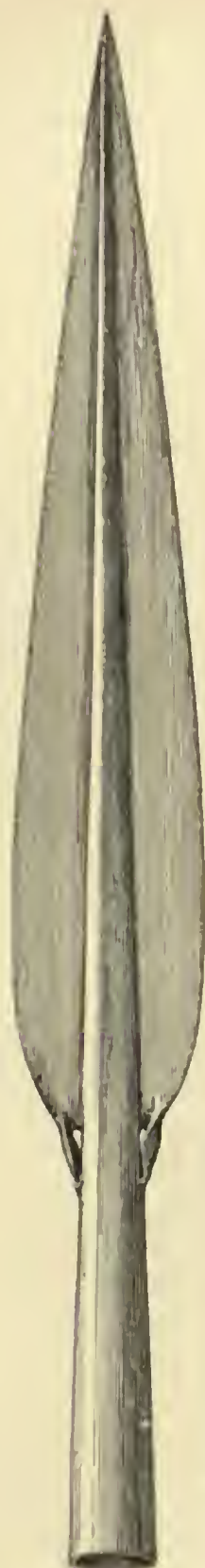


Fig. 28. River Thames at Chiswick.  
[B. M.]

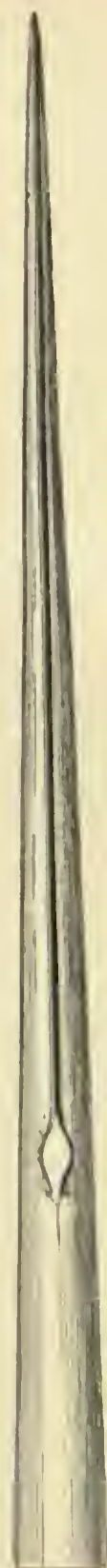


Fig. 27. Twickenham. [B. M.]



EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.











Fig. 29. River Thames.  
[Lloyd Collection, Richmond.]



Fig. 30. Thames.  
[Now in the Tower of  
London.]

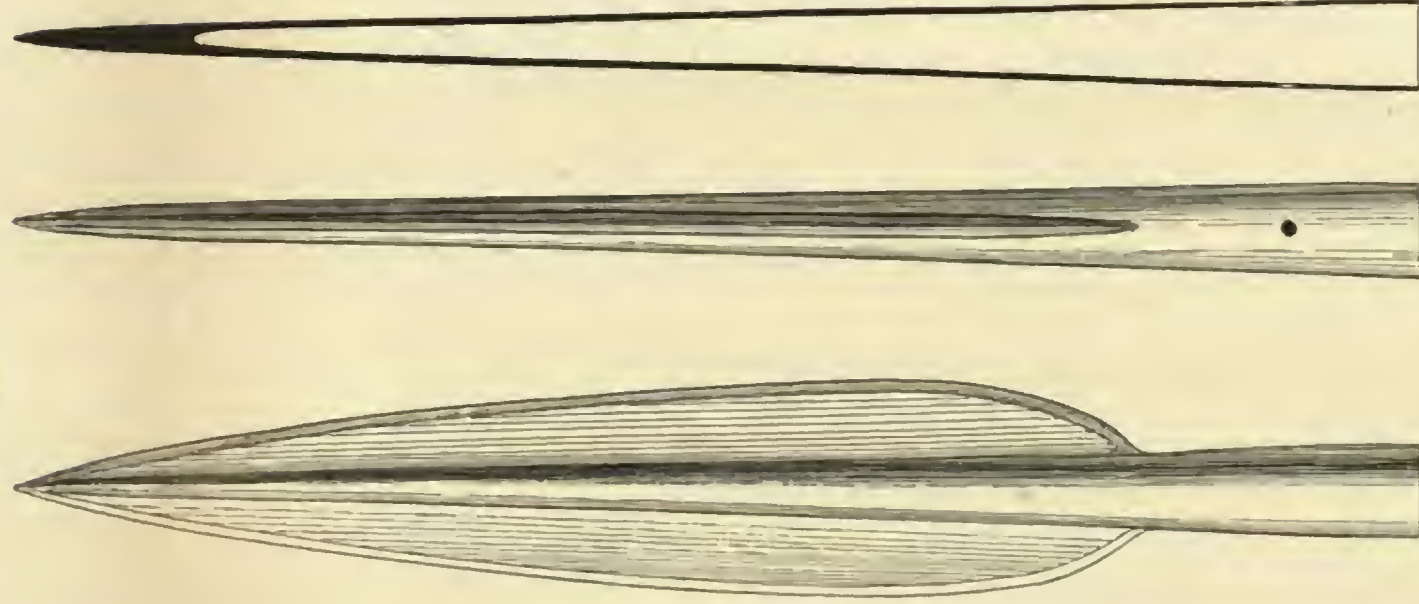


Fig. 31. River Thames at  
Faleworth. [B. M.]



Fig. 40. Whittingham, Northumberland.  
[Black Gate, Newcastle.]

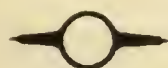


Fig. 33. Seuntherp, Linc. [B. M.]

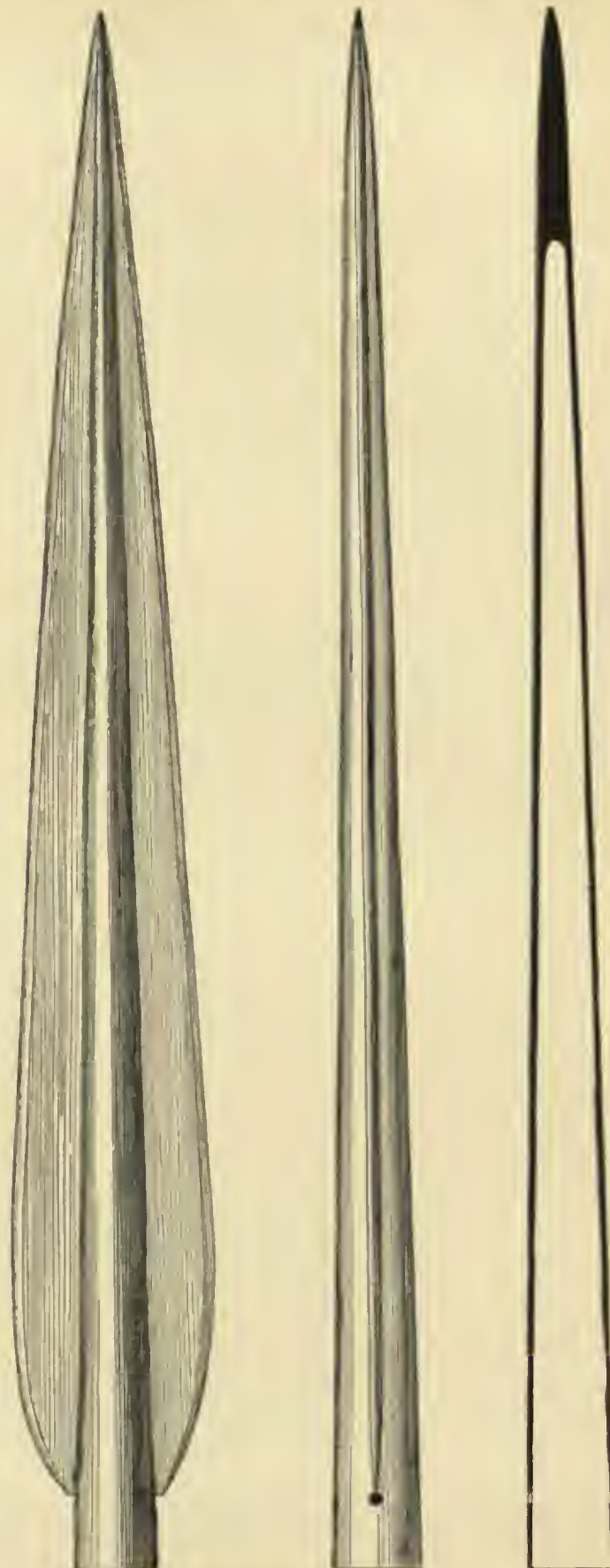
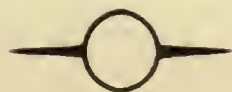


Fig. 32. River Thames at Isleworth. [B. M.]

LEAF-SHAPED BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS, CLASS V. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)





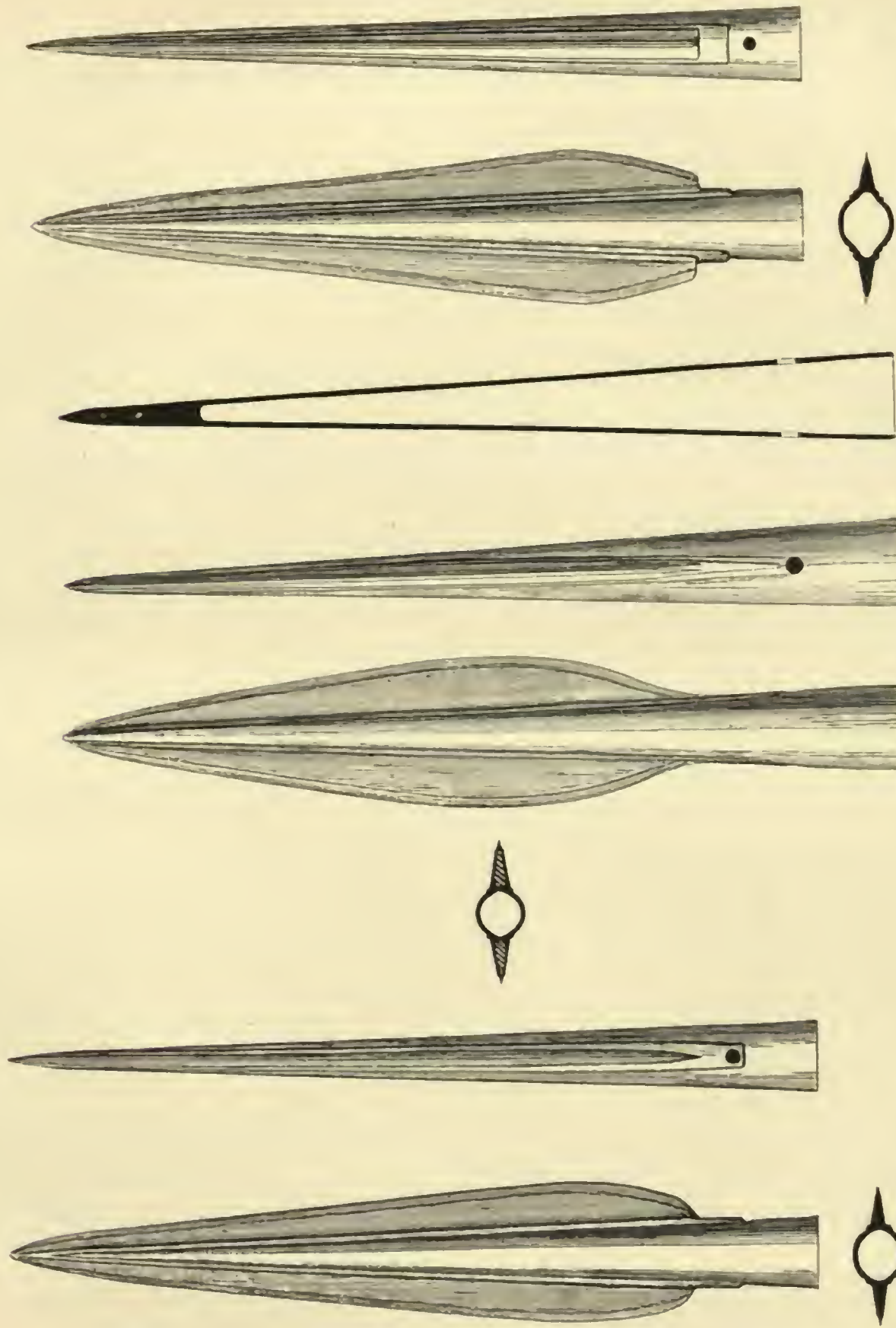


Fig. 36. Richmond, Surrey. [B. M.]

Fig. 34. Heathery Burn Cave. [B. M.]

Fig. 35. Isleworth. [B. M.]





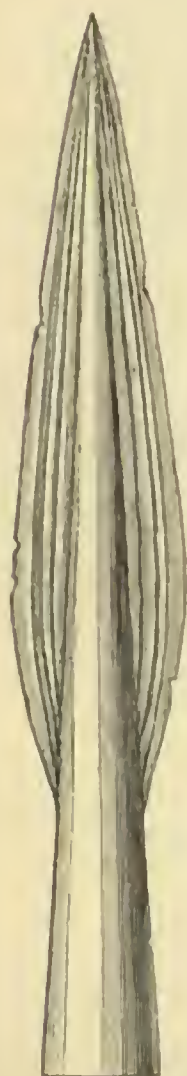


Fig. 37. Blackmoor, Wolmer Forest. [B. M.]

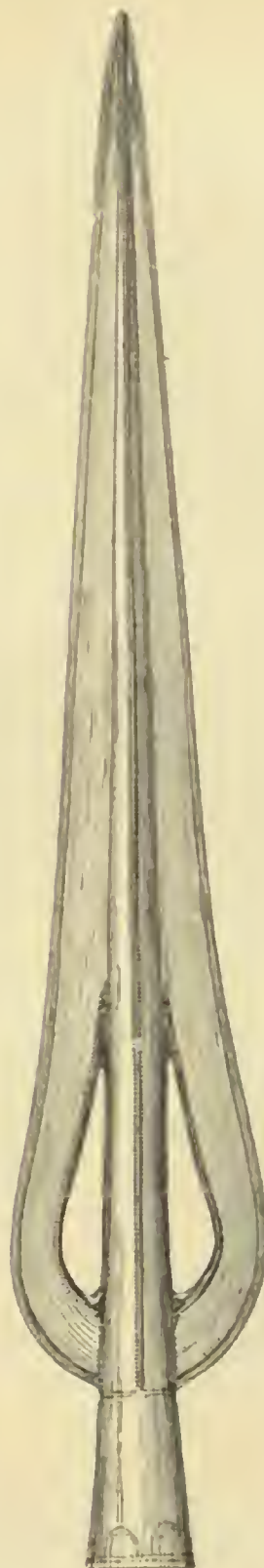


Fig. 38. Battersea. [B. M.]

EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.







Fig. 39. Dowris Hoard. [B. M.]



Fig. 43. A fragment from Ireland.  
[York Museum.]

NOTE.—Fig. 40 is on Plate LXVI.



Fig. 41. Guilsfield. [B. M.]

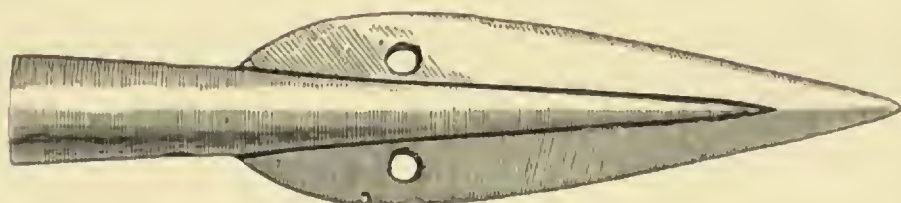


Fig. 42. Naworth. [B. M.]

EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS WITH LUNATE AND OTHER OPENINGS. ( $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.)







Fig. 44. River Thames.  
[Now Lloyd Collection, Richmond.]

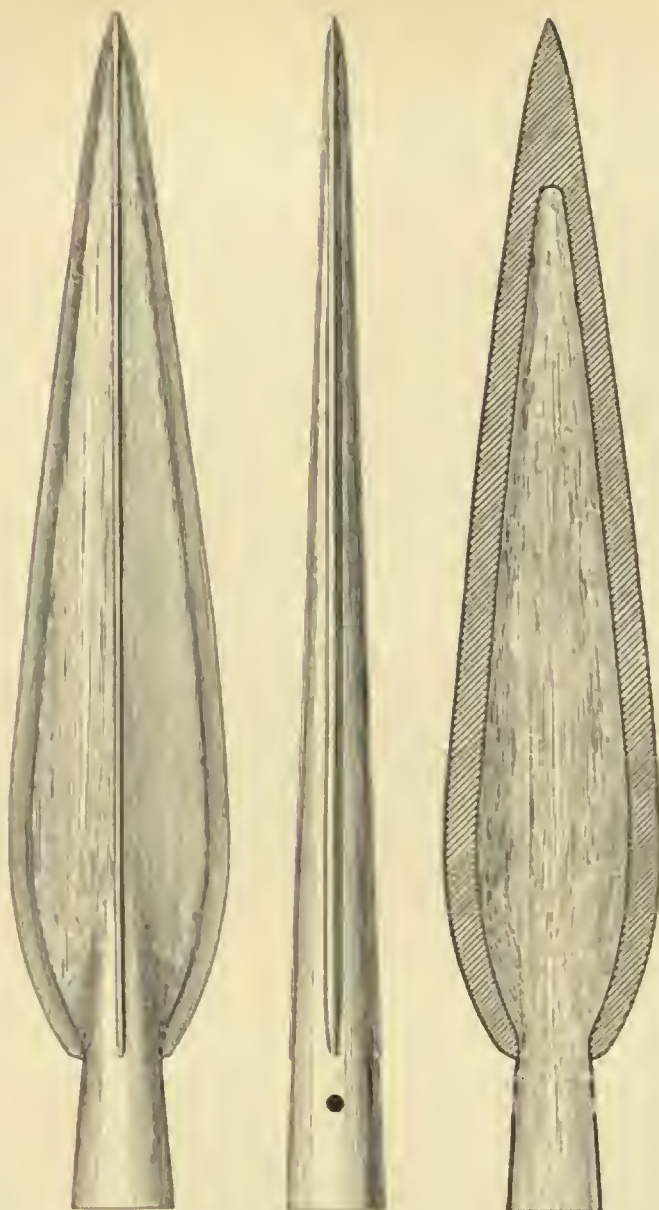


Fig. 45. River Thames at Richmond. [B. M.]



Fig. 46. River Thames.  
[Lloyd Collection, Richmond.]



Fig. 47. A fragment from Llandysilio,  
Denbighshire. [B. M.]

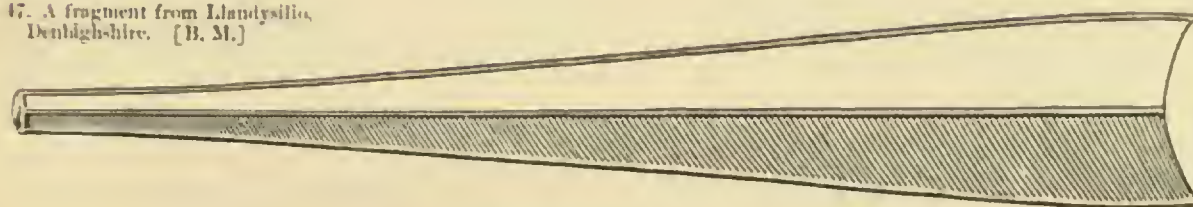


Fig. 48. Chape of Sword Sheath, Gillsfield. [B. M.]



EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS WITH HOLLOW HEADS CLASS Va. &c. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)





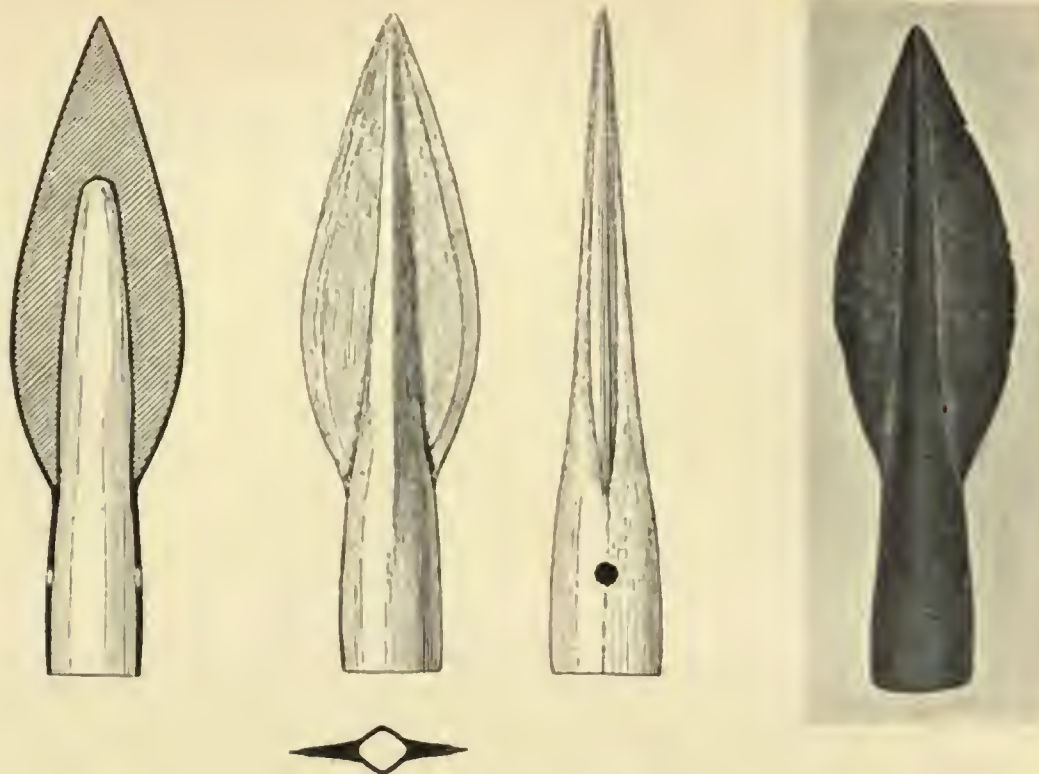


Fig. 49. From near Newark. [B. M.]

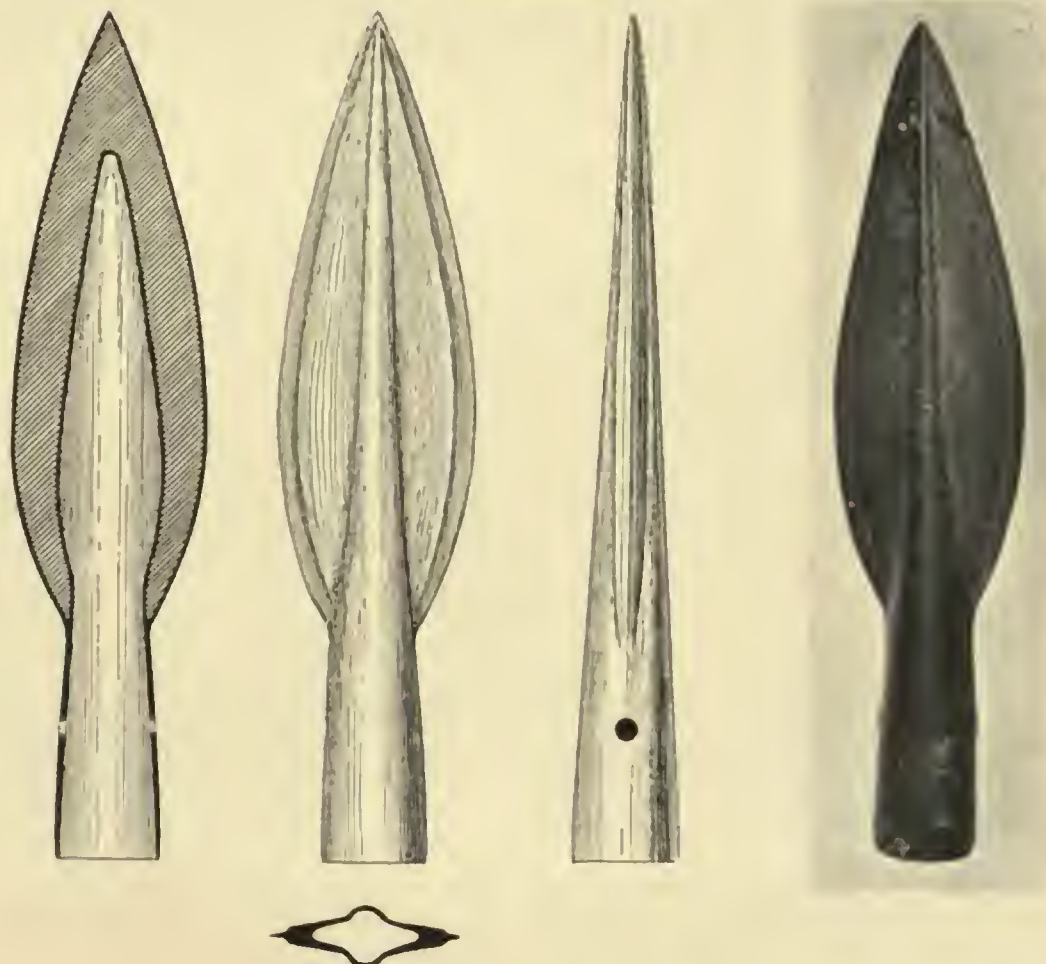


Fig. 50. Heathery Burn Cave. [B. M.]

EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.





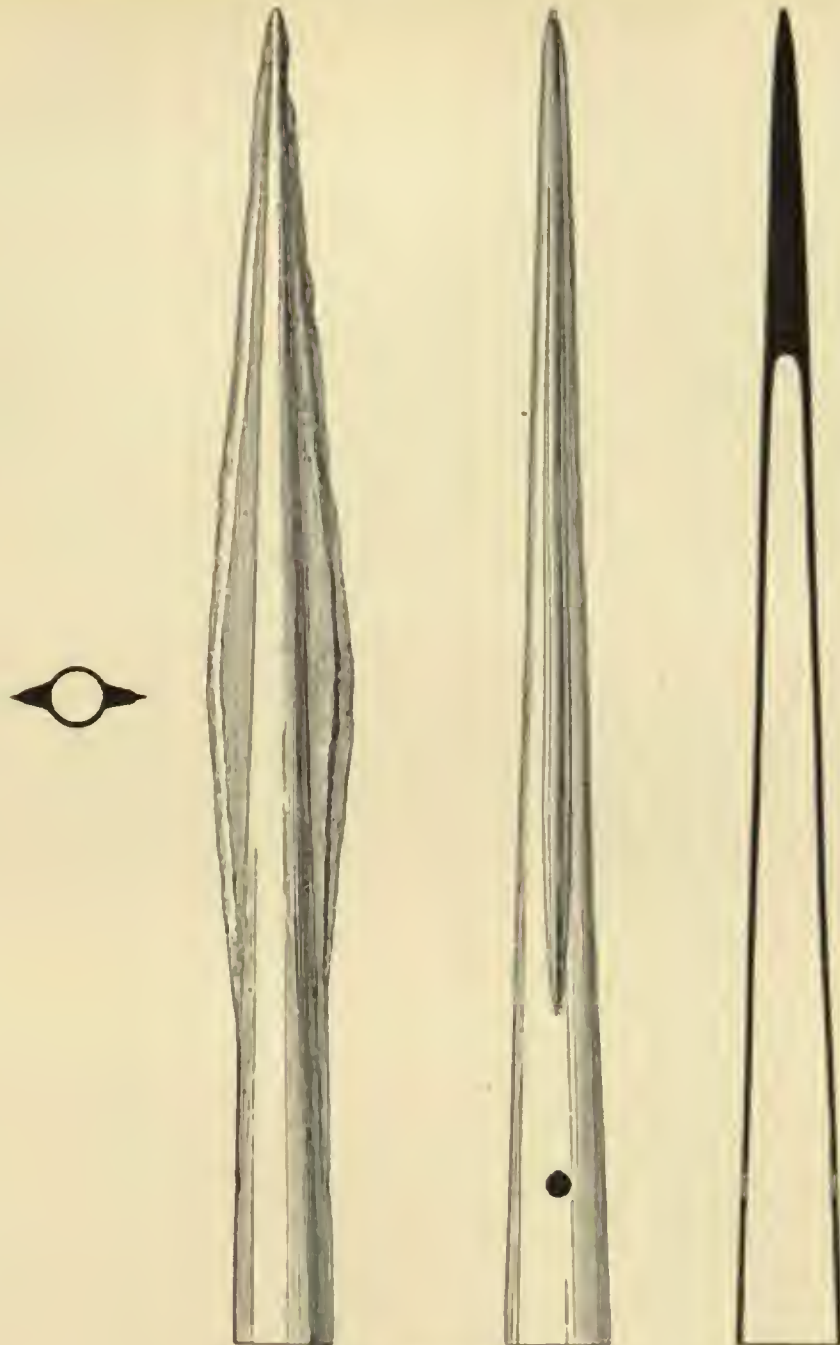


Fig. 51. Boyle, Roscommon. [B. M.]

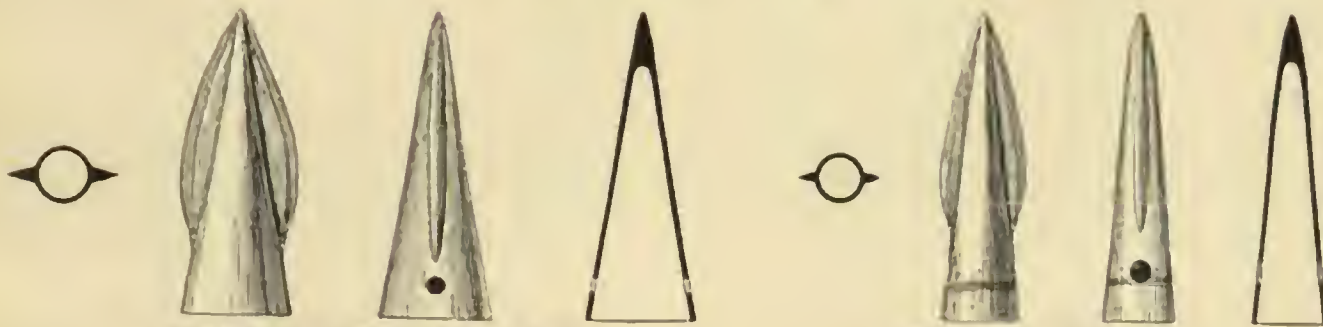


Fig. 52. Blackmoor, Wolmer Forest. [B. M.]

Fig. 53. Feltwell Fen. [B. M.]

EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS. ( $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.





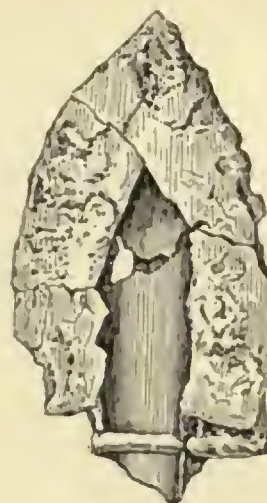
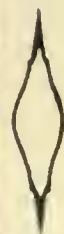
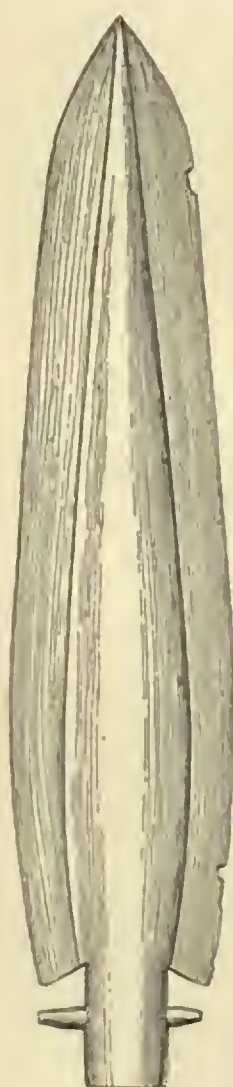


Fig. 53. Broadwood. [B. M.]



SECTION CANNOT BE COMPLETED  
AS CORE YET REMAINS IN HEAD

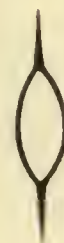
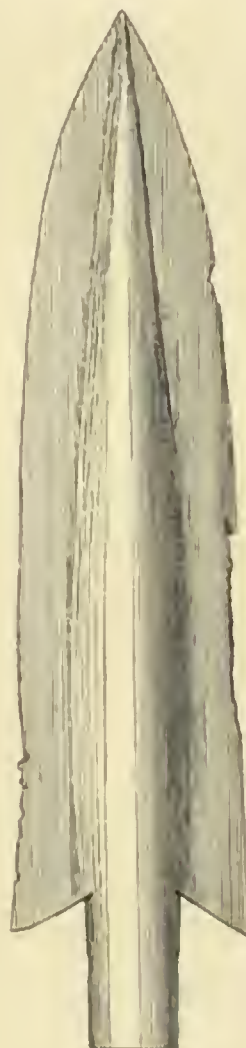
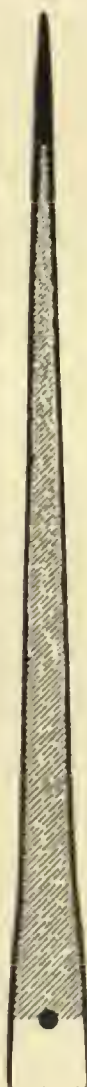


Fig. 54. Chinwick.  
[Evans Collection.]  
By kindness of Dr. Evans.

Fig. 56. River Humber. [B. M.]

EXAMPLES OF BARBED BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS, CLASS VI ( $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.)





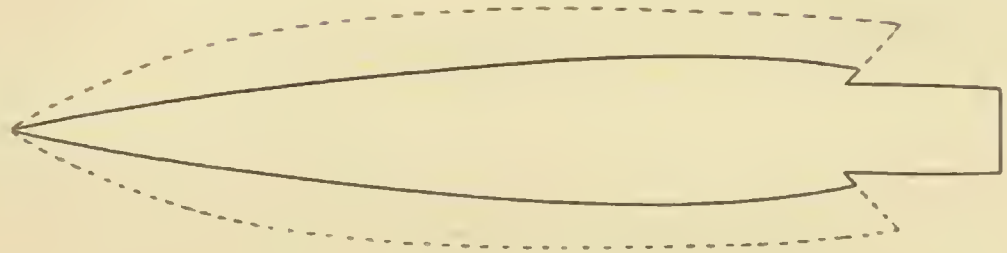
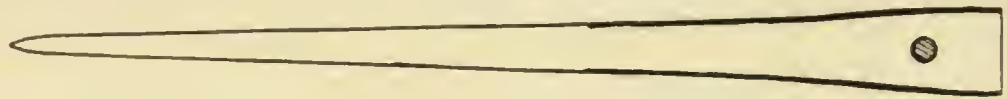
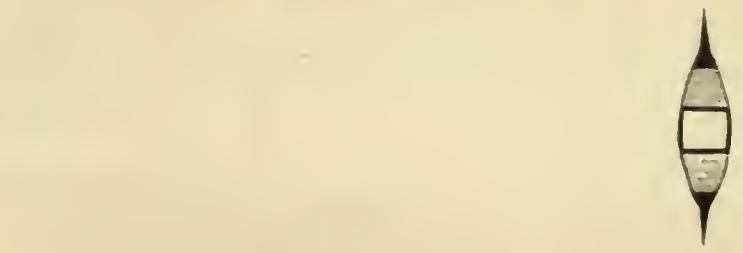


Fig. 59. River Tyne,  
[Black Gate Museum,  
Newcastle.]

Fig. 57. River Thames. [B. M.]

Fig. 58.





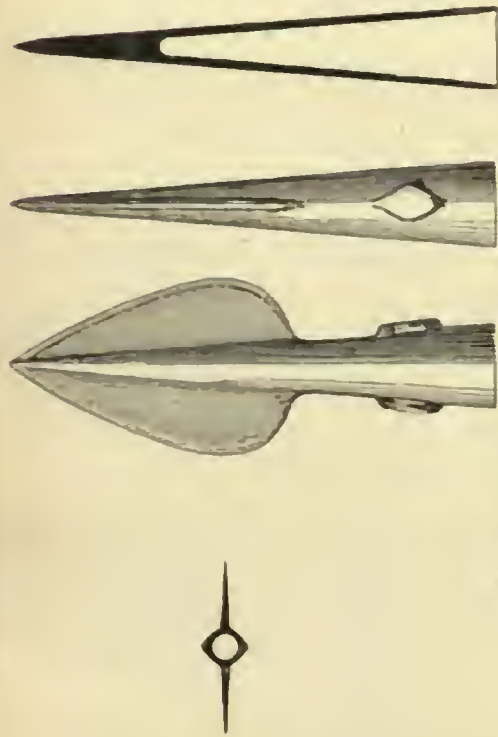


Fig. 60. River Thames at Wandsworth. [B. M.]

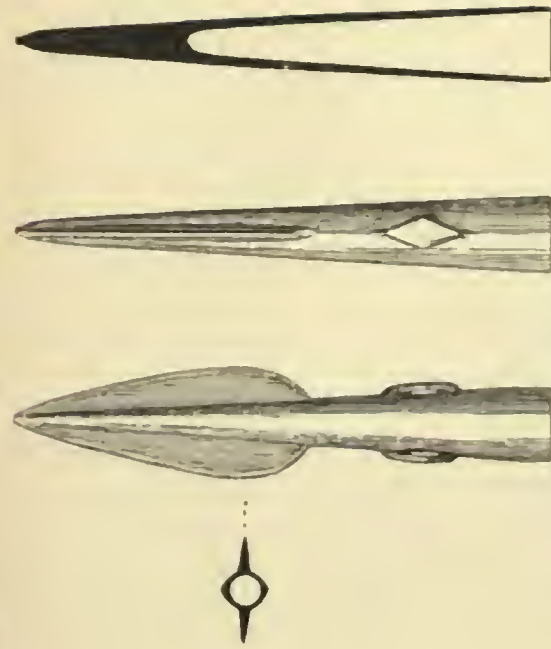


Fig. 61. Bowes, N.R. Yorks. [B. M.]

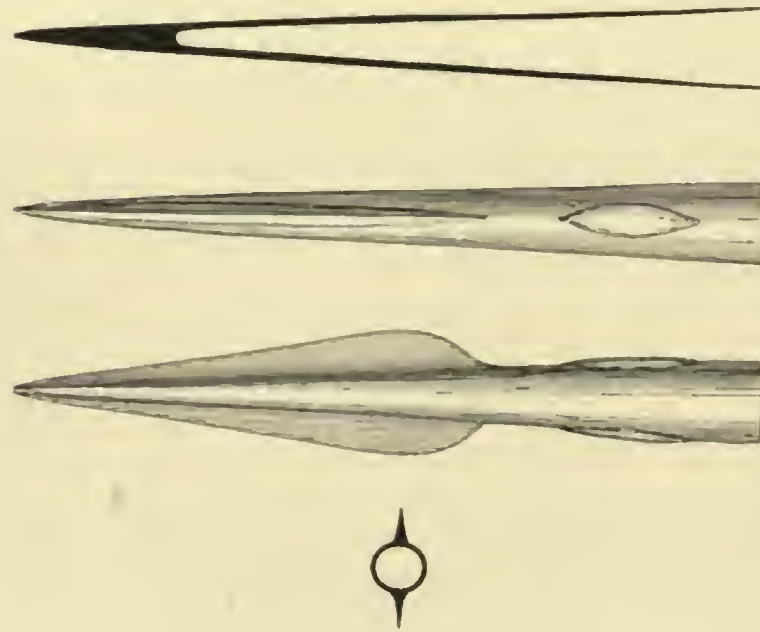


Fig. 62. River Thames at Barnes. [B. M.]

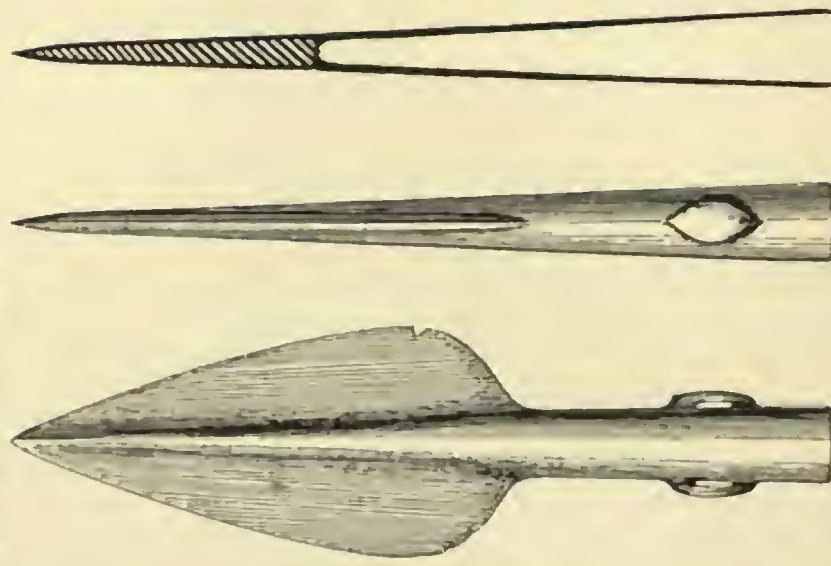


Fig. 63. Dubmill Farm, Mowbray, Cumberland. [B. M.]

EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS, CLASS IV (4 linear.)





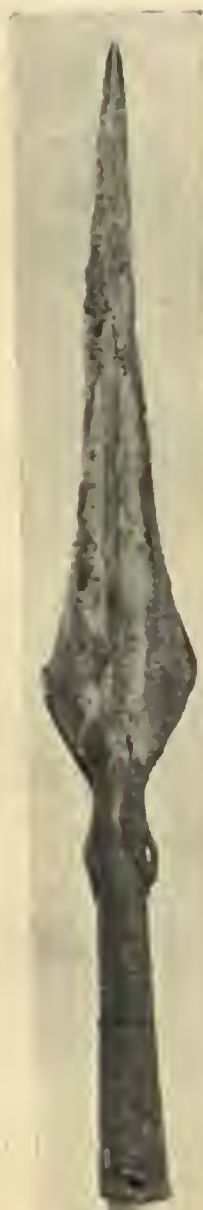


Fig. 64. [York Museum.]



Fig. 65. [All six in the Kiblar Street Museum, Dublin.]

EXAMPLES OF BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS, RAPIER TYPE, CLASS IVa. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.







Fig. 66. Glover's Island, Richmond. [B. M.]

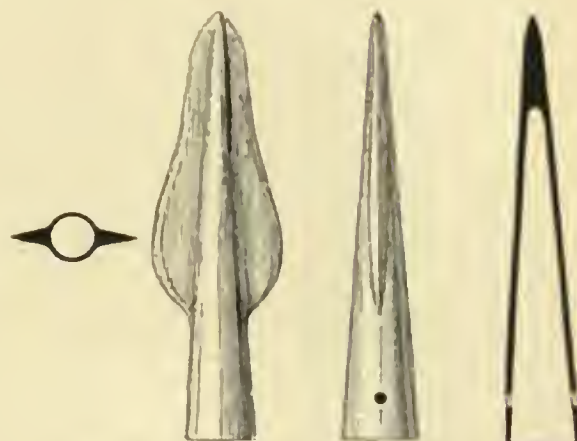


Fig. 67. River Thames at Isleworth. [B. M.]



Fig. 68.

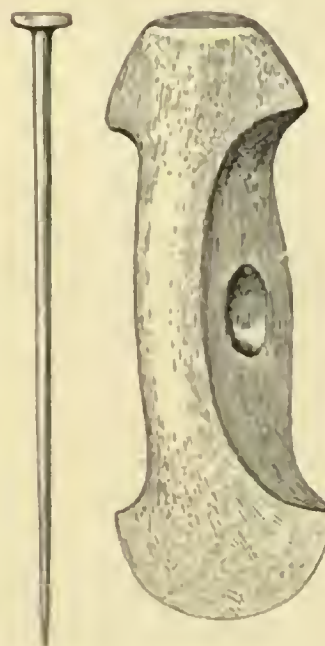


Fig. 69. Snowhill. [B. M.]





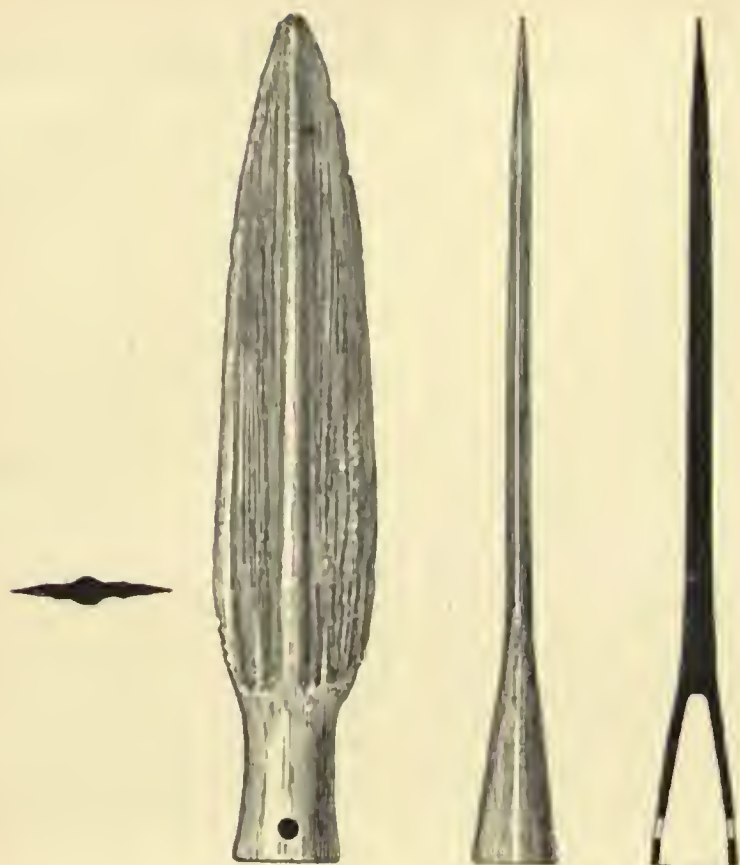


Fig. 70. *Kilgraston, Perthshire.* [B. M.]



Fig. 71. *Mörigen.* [B. M.]



Fig. 73. *Co. Dublin.* [Greenwell Collection.]



Fig. 72. *River Thames.* [B. M.]





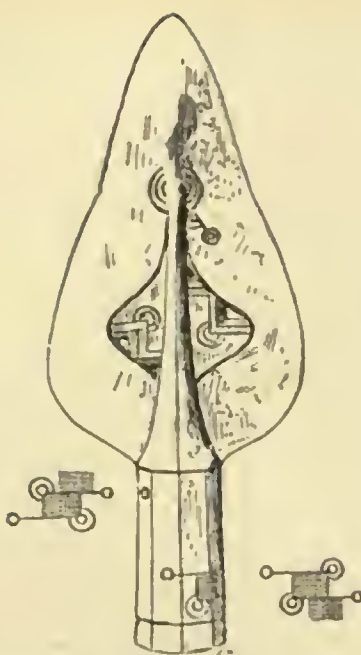


Fig. 74. Boho, Co. Fermanagh.

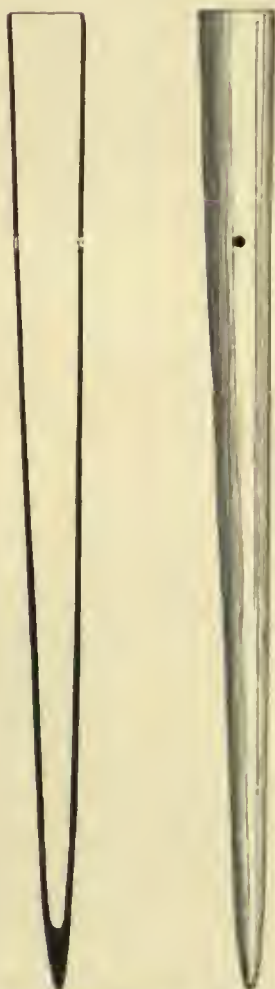


Fig. 75. River Thames at Isleworth.  
[B. M.]



Fig. 76. River Thames at Chelsea.  
[B. M.]

BRONZE SPEAR-HEAD AND SPEAR-BUTTS. (4 linear.)







Fig. 77.



Fig. 77.



Fig. 79.



Fig. 81.



Fig. 78.

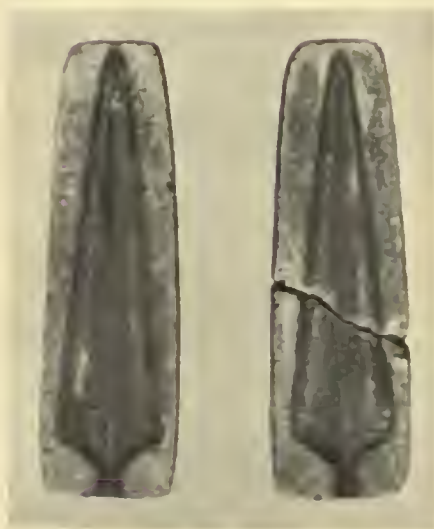


Fig. 80.



Fig. 82.

MOULDS FOUND AT OMAGH, CO. TYRONE, IRELAND. ( $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.





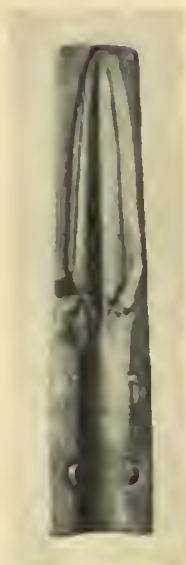


Fig. 83A. Anglescu.

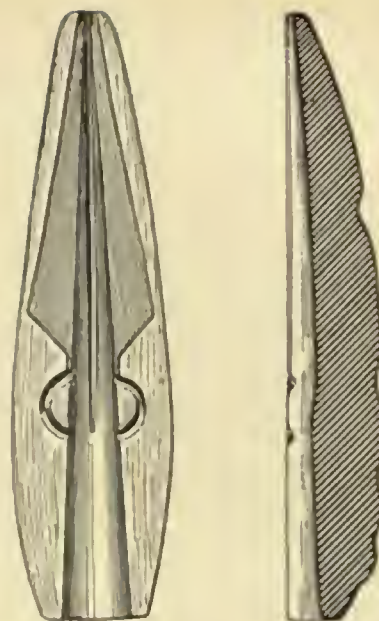


Fig. 84. Meghara, Londonderry. [B. M.]

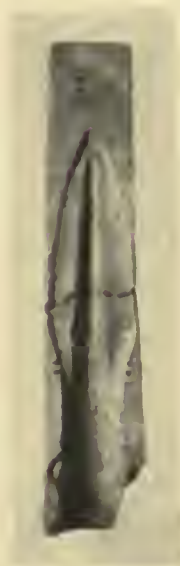


Fig. 83B. Anglescu.

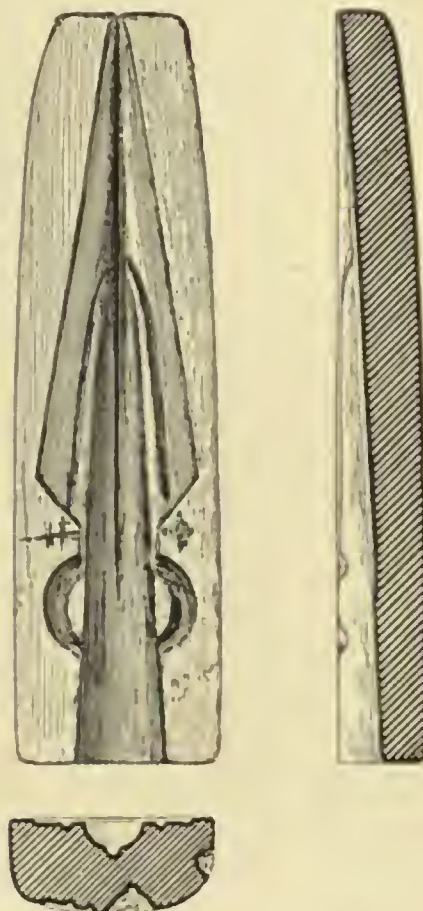
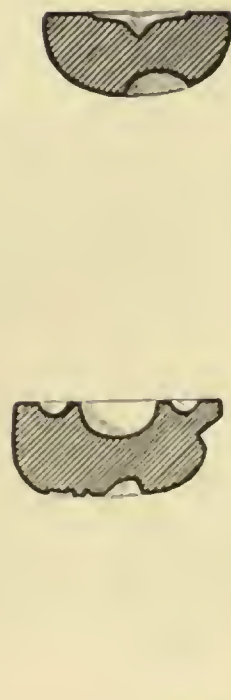


Fig. 85. Little Ballymena, Antrim. [B. M.]

MOULDS FOR CASTING BRONZE SPEAR-HEADS. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.





XVIII.—*Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants, in 1908.*

*By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A.*

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Read 24th June, 1909.

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BEFORE submitting to the Society, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Silchester Excavation Fund, an account of the work carried out last season, I must say a few words on the loss we have sustained by the death of our two colleagues, George Edward Fox and Frederick George Hilton Price. It was chiefly on account of the interest created by our late Director's excavations on the site, of which he communicated a description to the Society in 1886<sup>a</sup> that I was able to persuade Mr. Fox to associate himself with the scheme for the complete and systematic excavation of the site which we had the honour of laying before the Society in February, 1890.<sup>b</sup> With the carrying out of this scheme both our departed friends were intimately associated. As Honorary Treasurer to the Excavation Fund our late Director not only devoted a good deal of valuable time, but was himself the contributor of a handsome annual subscription to the work he had so largely inspired. Of Mr. Fox's part it is hardly necessary to speak. Most of the earlier records of our operations were written by him, and to his skill with pencil and brush we owe the beautiful drawings of architectural remains and mosaic pavements that from time to time have been enshrined in *Archaeologia*. Although increasing feebleness and ill health in recent years hindered our friend from visiting Silchester as often as formerly, his interest

<sup>a</sup> *Archaeologia*, l. 263-280.

<sup>b</sup> *Proceedings*, 2nd S. xiii. 85-96.



to the last was unabated, and it is sad to think that his death should have occurred within a few weeks of the end of the great work on which he had so set his heart.

The operations of 1908 were prosecuted in two entirely different directions. From 22nd May to 8th August most of the work was devoted to filling in the site of the *basilica*. This important building, with the adjoining *forum*, was uncovered by the Rev. J. G. Joyce between 1867 and 1873, and the remains of both have since lain open to the vicissitudes of our climate. The result was that what were at first strong lines of rubble foundation had become mere rows of loose flints, and such worked stones as remained in place had been shivered and splintered by frost. The whole site too was becoming gradually overgrown with vegetation. Under these circumstances it was strongly urged by Mr. Fox that what remained should be preserved by being again covered up, and as the Duke of Wellington was willing to bear half the cost this has now been done. Mr. Fox was hopeful that in turning back the great spoil banks thrown up when the *basilica* was excavated various architectural and other fragments would be found which had escaped the excavators. In this we were disappointed, as little came to light beyond some fragments of the great Corinthian capitals, a number of pieces of marble wall-linings, and a few coins and objects in bronze. The site of the *forum* has yet to be filled up.

The other work of last season, that of investigation, was begun by searching in front of the temple uncovered the preceding year for further fragments of the image and inscriptions then found. The result was fruitless as to fragments, except one small piece of drapery, but the excavation brought to light a stone foundation  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick, and measuring 2 feet by 2 feet 8 inches, apparently for an altar, since it lay directly in front of the temple entrance at a distance of some 25 feet.

The next work was the re-examination of the remains of the east gate. These were uncovered in 1872 by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, whose account of his discoveries is printed in *Archaeologia*.\*

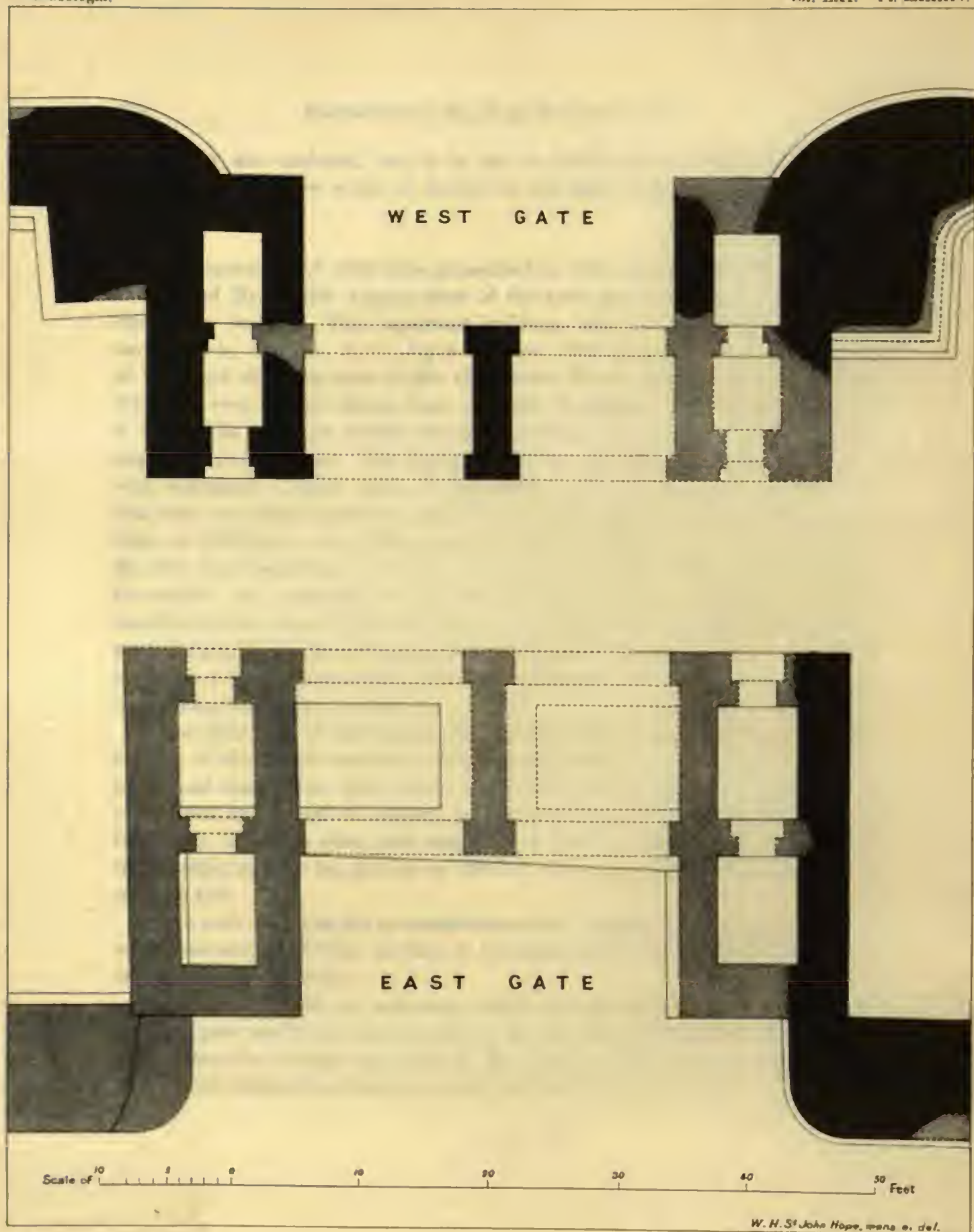
As compared with the west gate, which we examined in 1890, the remains of the east gate are far less perfect, and it is not surprising that, through his not having seen the western one, some of Mr. Joyce's conclusions should be wrong. His general description, however, agrees with what we have observed.

\* Vol. xlv. 346.

# STAR - T&S

## STAR - T&S





SILCHESTER.--COMPARATIVE PLANS OF EAST AND WEST GATES.

The gateway was built behind an opening about 45 feet wide left for it in the town wall, but the sides of the opening were merely rounded externally and did not return inwards as in the case of the west gate. On the north the wall remained to a height of several feet, and the rounded corner had a chamfered plinth of brown sandstone on which rested a course of the same material beneath the flint rubble of the wall itself. On the south the wall was ruined to a flint foundation  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, without any plinth, and the rounded corner was broken away, but the inside of the wall had a set-off of rough oolite slabs, 11 inches wide, which did not occur north of the gate.

The gateway itself had been so completely destroyed that only its foundations remained, but these were of a particularly massive character. They showed that on the north the gateway was built up with a straight joint against the inner face of the wall, which overlapped it for a distance of 4 feet 8 inches. But the gateway was not quite parallel with the wall, and on the south the rubble of the wall had been cut away to a depth of 14 inches to allow of the south-east corner of the gateway being recessed into it. The overlap of the wall was apparently the same as on the north.

Although the gateway was ruined to below the original ground level, and had therefore lost all traces of doorways and pilasters, its foundations showed that it was absolutely identical in plan and arrangement with the west gate, though on a slightly larger scale. It consisted of a double gate passage flanked on each side by a pair of guard chambers. The latter projected beyond the front of the gate passages, and were probably carried up as a pair of flanking towers to protect the entrance. Of these flanking members the northern block was better preserved than the other, and consisted of a solid mass of flint concrete with brick footings, and quoins and facing courses of the same material. The northern face was standing some 3 feet high above its footings. The southern face was only about 2 feet high and built chiefly of brown sandstone. The southern block seems to have been built differently from the other and had hardly any brickwork in its construction. It was also much more ruined, and was largely composed of the brown sandstone. A brick from a semi-circular pier built into the lowest courses was suggestive of a repair. The two flanking blocks were connected by two sleeper walls of concrete beneath the outer and inner arches of the gate passages, and the wall that divided the passages had also a concrete foundation, but this had mostly been destroyed by the modern drain referred to by Mr. Joyce.

As compared with the west gate the east one is of the same width between the outer towers, and the arches had a like span of about 12 feet, but the gate



passages were 16 feet deep instead of 12 feet. The flanking blocks, which contained the guard chambers, were also  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet broad as against the 12 feet of the west gate, and projected inwards from the wall 28 feet  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches instead of only 24 feet. The total width of the east gate was 56 feet 3 inches, and of the west gate 53 feet. It is much to be regretted that no more should be left of so fine a gate-house as that which faced the road from London.

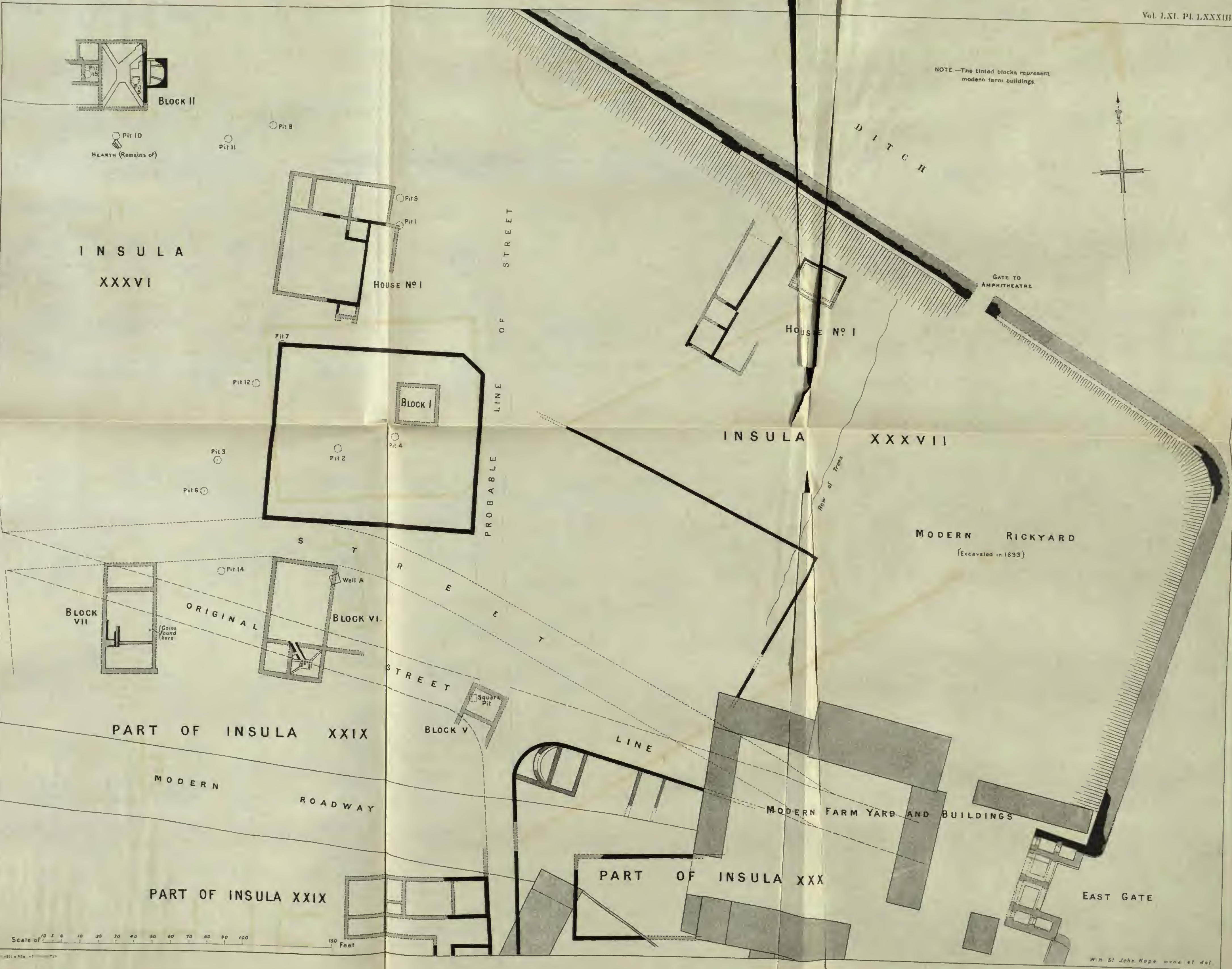
How the gate-house was approached, whether by a bridge over the ditch without the wall or by a causeway, has yet to be ascertained during the operations of the present year.

The examination of the gate having been completed early in August a beginning was made upon the trenching of the last section of the town which remained unexplored, an area to the west of the modern rickyard, bounded on the north by the town wall, on the south by the modern roadway through the site, and on the west by *Insula XXVII.*, excavated in 1901. The stackyard was trenched so long ago as 1893, but contained nothing of interest except the gate leading to the amphitheatre, which had previously been uncovered by Mr. Joyce.\*

During the excavations of 1902 it had been found that the wall on the east side of the narrow street between *Insulae XXIX.* and *XXX.*, which formed one side of the enclosure containing the two large temples, extended northward across the modern roadway through the site and into the area examined last year. Here the wall turned round at its northern end, and then continued for some distance in a straight line for the east gate. Owing to the lowering of the ground which has taken place within the quadrangle of modern farm buildings between it and the gate the further course of the wall could not be followed, but if it formed one side of a main street 20 feet wide this would have led directly towards the middle line of the gate itself. As this main street, if continued westwards, ought to have joined the main street of the same width between *Insulae XXVII.* and *XXVIII.*, a series of trenches were cut across the strip of *Insula XXIX.* left on the north of the roadway, in the hope of finding a boundary wall in line with that inclosing *Insula XXX.* No such wall, however, could be found, and a continuous sheet of gravel underlying the top soil made it impossible even to define the roadway which must have existed here. Further trenching revealed another disturbing factor in the shape of three detached buildings, each of which overlay the assumed course of the main road. Since these buildings, as will appear later, stood within an

\* *Archaeologia*, xl. 416 and liv. 237.





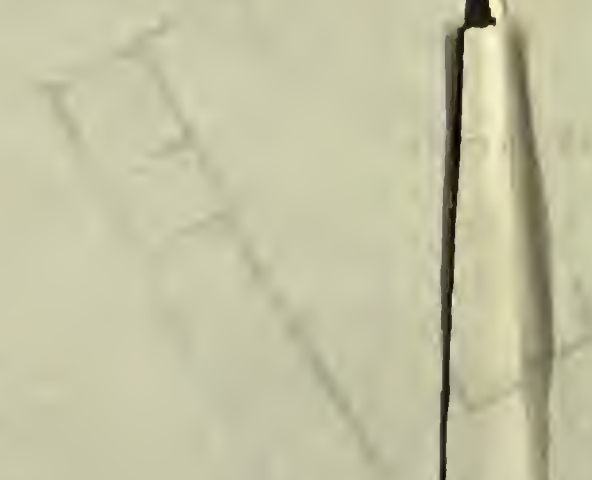
SILCHESTER. PLAN OF INSULÆ XXXVI AND XXXVII, AND OF PARTS OF XXIX AND XXX.



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extension of *Insula* XXIX. they have been numbered in continuation of the structures in that *insula*.

The first, Block V., lay directly athwart the old line of road and partly on the line of another street which seems to have extended northward from that dividing *Insulae* XXIX. and XXX. One small square chamber at the north end could be traced by its gravel foundations, but the continuation of these southwards was indistinguishable from the underlying gravel. The chamber in question contained against its west wall a pit (13)  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep, filled with very dry rubbish, and containing nothing but broken fragments of pottery. The pit was 4 feet square at the top, but gradually narrowed to 3 feet square at the bottom.

The second building, Block VI., stood some 80 feet west of Block V., and consisted of a rectangular enclosure about 65 feet long and 35 feet wide, extending northwards right across the old line of road. The greater part of it was perhaps an open court or yard, but in the southern end were two chambers of about equal size. The eastern of these contained the remains of a composite hypocaust, which was stoked from the court on the north. Traces of a wall running eastwards in continuation of that north of the hypocaust chamber suggest the former existence of another room or rooms on that side. Underlying the wall of the court near its north-east corner was a well (A). It was  $23\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep, and lined from the bottom upwards with the usual framed boarding, forming a square of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet with stays across the corners. Twelve rows of the oak boarding remained, of an average width of 12 inches, and the whole structure was backed with clay throughout. Owing to a threatened collapse of the sides on account of water pressure the well could not be completely cleaned out. It yielded only a small quantity of fragments of pottery, but many odd pieces of wood, and a piece of the bottom of a finely woven vessel of basket-work (fig. 1). Concerning this, Colonel Prain, the Director of the Royal Gardens at Kew, who was kind enough to have it examined, writes to Mr. Lyell: "Mr. Boodle has at last completed his examination of the basket-work . . . and reports as follows: 'The basket-work is made from peeled woody twigs, some of the thicker straight pieces being entire and some of the thinner woven pieces being split. In some pieces the structure of the wood is almost obliterated, but in others, though the microscopic structure is not on the whole well preserved, the nature of the pith and medullary rays and the distribution of the vessels in the wood can be roughly determined. The characters thus obtained would be insufficient for purposes of determination, but since they agree with the corresponding features of the willow, and this is the plant that



would most probably be used for basket making, there is little doubt that this specimen was made of willow.' "

About 55 feet west of Block VI. is Block VII. In the intermediate ground one pit (14) was met with. It was 21 feet deep, and sunk first through 3 or 4 feet of gravel, then through sand to the bottom. Mr. Stephenson notes that at the junction of the gravel and sand there was an old slip of the latter which, in the absence of all wood lining and clay pugging, suggests that the pit was begun for a well and abandoned. The uppermost layers of the filling in contained a little building material and some hypocaust tiles. At 17 feet Mr. Stephenson records the finding of three red jugs in the sand, two with handles and one larger one



Fig. 1. Fragment of basket-work found in a well in *Insula XXXVI*. (†)

without. Below these was the thin wooden lining, the thick wooden bottom, and several staves of a large wooden vessel,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep and about 1 foot in diameter, perhaps a flour-bin. Lower down were a small cup of red-glazed ware, and a small black vase.

Block VII. was a somewhat curious structure. It was oblong in plan, measuring 61 feet by  $29\frac{1}{2}$  feet externally, and stood north and south, with its north end athwart the old street line. It consisted of at least three divisions, a narrow one at each end, and a larger in the middle which had a hypocaust under its western half. The whole had, however, been much ruined, and little else than the gravel foundations and the stokehole of the hypocaust remained. Against the east wall was found a small hoard of coins, as follows :

Theodora (wife of Constantius I.)				
PAX PVBLICA	.	.	.	1
PIETAS ROMANA	.	.	.	5
Constans (A.D. 333-350)				
VICTORIA. D. D. AVGGG. N. N.	.	.	.	57
GLORIA EXERCITVS	.	.	.	21
VIRTVS AVG	.	.	.	1
Illegible	.	.	.	2
Total				87

Both Block VI. and Block VII. seem to have been buildings connected with some industry in which a drying room played a prominent part, and it may be that they are an offshoot of the dyeworks in the north-western quarter of the town.

The considerable area to the north of the buildings just described contained a good deal of open ground.

Immediately to the north of Block VI. the trenches disclosed the walling of a large quadrangular enclosure, about 115 feet long and 95 feet wide, with its longer axis nearly east and west. The north-east angle for some obscure reason has been canted. The foundations of the enclosing wall were 26 inches wide, but the wall itself, of which only a few fragments remained on the north and west, was 18 inches thick. In the north-east quarter of the enclosure, and standing square with it, were the gravel foundations of a rectangular structure about 19 feet square. Two pits were also met with in the enclosure. One of these (2) Mr. Stephenson describes as a small circular hole about 3 feet in diameter sunk in the gravel to a depth of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Near the bottom were two small pots, and at 7 feet down a small brass of Crispus. Only a few fragments of pottery were contained in the filling.

The other pit (4) was 7 feet deep but 9 feet in diameter, and sunk wholly in the gravel. Mr. Stephenson records the finding of "a few fragments of broken pottery, mostly black and grey, and a few bones; a small brass of Carausius on the bottom; two coins of the Constantine family, and five other illegible between 4 feet and 6 feet down, and a large brass of Hadrian at 3 feet; five bone pins and fragments of others; and one square green glass object, perhaps from a brooch."

It is unfortunate that neither the pits nor the many trenches cut across this walled enclosure afforded any clue to its purpose. Such a number of the small



square isolated buildings like that contained within it have been found at *Callera* that they must have had some special use. Nothing, however, has in any case come to light to explain it. The discovery within some of fragments of painted wall plaster shows that they were not mere outhouses. After much consideration I ventured to suggest to Mr. Fox whether they might not be private chapels for the *lares* or other deities, and this theory he expressed himself willing to accept. The example under notice differs, however, from others in being set within an enclosure by itself, and may therefore perhaps be regarded as a small temple or shrine.

To the north of it are the remains of a house (No. 1) which may have been the residence of the owner or custodian of the shrine.

It is of somewhat unusual plan, consisting of a rectangular courtyard 44 feet



Fig. 2. Bowl of fine black pottery found in *Insula XXXVI*. (4.)

square, with a row of chambers on the north, and traces of others on the east. Outside the south-east corner of the courtyard was an entrance porch, which probably opened into a pentise along the east side of the courtyard, leading to a square room or lobby in its north-east corner. Very little else than the gravel foundations of the building remained, and all its floors had been destroyed.

Beneath the north-east corner of the eastern range was a large pit (1), 10 feet deep and 8 feet in diameter. Mr. Stephenson records that the filling in contained little broken pottery, but about 6 feet down were many horn cores<sup>a</sup> of *bos longifrons*, and a few bones; also a second brass of Domitian, and an enamelled bronze lid of a seal box.

To the north of this pit and outside the house was another (9) 17 feet deep,

<sup>a</sup> Mr. A. H. Lyell has counted sixty.

but it yielded nothing save a very few fragments of pottery, and many pieces of charcoal.

Three other pits were met with just to the west of the walled enclosure. The southernmost (6) was 11 feet deep, and sunk wholly in the gravel, but contained nothing beyond a few fragments of pottery. Pit 3, a little to the north, was  $15\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep and of irregular form. Bits of charcoal occurred all through the filling, but naught else save a few fragments of pottery. Pit 12, near the north-west corner of the enclosure, was sunk through gravel and sand to a depth of 18 feet. It yielded nothing of importance except three silver coins, two of Antoninus Pius and one of Gordianus the younger, between 4 and 6 feet down. To the west of these pits was a large extent of open ground, stretching northwards as far as a building (Block II.) at some distance north-west of House No. 1. This consisted of one large chamber, 35 feet long and  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet broad, warmed by a composite hypocaust, with, opening out of it on the west, an apsidal chamber  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep. This apse was square outside, and from its massive construction was no doubt vaulted with a semi-dome. To the west of the large chamber were several lesser rooms, but their gravel foundations merged into the underlying gravel sheet here, and the rest of the building could not be traced. It may have formed part of a house, or belonged to some industry which involved drying rooms. Another building of similar plan was uncovered in *Insula XXII.* in 1899.

Within the area of Block II. were two pits. The first (5), in front of the apse, was sunk 15 feet through gravel and sand, but contained nothing save a very few fragments of pottery, a bronze finger ring, and a brooch. The second pit (15) was 6 feet square and 14 feet deep. Beyond much building material near the top it yielded nothing of interest except a quantity of fruit stones from the lowest layer.

Just to the south of Block II., beside the remains of a long hearth, was another pit (10). It was 17 feet deep, and at the bottom in a layer of black stuff lay, in no sort of order, a ring of pots, some on their sides, others upright. Of these, fifteen were more or less whole, while others were much broken (fig. 3). Round the neck of a black jug a piece of string or cord was found in position. This has been examined for Mr. Lyell by Colonel Prain who reports that it "appears to consist of strips of the bark of a woody plant," but owing to its unsatisfactory preservation the identity of this cannot be exactly determined.

In the open ground between Block II. and House No. 1 two other pits were met with. One of these (11) was oblong in plan, measuring 5 feet by  $3\frac{1}{4}$  feet,



and  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep. Owing to its regular form, which was maintained throughout, it looks as if sunk for a well, but only two stumps of wood were found in the bottom. At a depth of 4 feet down two small pots were recovered from it. The other pit (8) was 16 feet deep, but yielded nothing of interest beyond a few fragments of pottery and many pieces of charcoal.



Fig. 3. Portion of a group of vessels of pottery found in Pit 10, *Insula XXXVI*.

It appears from the general plan of the town that there should be immediately to the east of the large walled enclosure a street running northward in continuation of that between *Insulae* XXIX. and XXX. No definite indications of this were found, but the topsoil here is underlaid by an extensive sheet of gravel in which it would be difficult to trace a street, and it is therefore quite probable

that it existed. In that case the area which has just been described would form *Insula XXXVI.* and has been so numbered.

The ground to the east has been numbered *Insula XXXVII.*, and of this quite one-half is occupied by the modern stackyard which was trenched in 1893 with entirely negative results. The other half was excavated last year. In its southern part were traced the foundations of a well-built wall which evidently belonged to a large enclosure like that to the west. Most of the north side was followed, and the return southwards of its eastern end as far as the farm buildings, but the other two sides had been destroyed. The north side was parallel with the town wall on the north. Nothing was found within the enclosure to give a suggestion as to its use, but from its nearness to the great eastern gateway it may have been used as a cattle market, or for some such purpose.

Immediately to the north of the enclosure, and close up under the bank backing the town wall, were disclosed the remains of a small house (No. 1) of the corridor type. It stood north and south, and had on the west side a row of chambers, in the largest of which were traces of a mosaic floor of coarse chalk and red tile *tesserae*. There had been a corridor or other chambers on the east side, but the only tangible proof of the existence of them was a patch of mosaic paving at the north end, laid in narrow bands of drab and red. Just to the east of this was an oblong chamber, either isolated or semi-detached, measuring internally about 15 feet by 20 feet with walls of peculiar construction. These were well built of flint and from 26 to 28 inches thick at the base, but were set back above this so as to form an internal ledge 11 or 12 inches wide. The appearance of this was suggestive of a large beam or balk of timber framing having been set upon it, which is not surprising in a town where the buildings were probably largely of half-timbered construction. The house was much ruined, and from the depth at which it lay had probably been so while the town of *Calleva* existed.

The gateway in the town wall leading to the amphitheatre was re-examined in 1893, and subsequently described in *Archaeologia*.<sup>a</sup>

One other feature in *Insula XXXVII.* may be noticed; the remains of the wall turret in the south-east corner. This has been very carefully examined by Mr. Stephenson and Mr. J. Challenor Smith, and it is quite clear that both turret and the part of the wall on which it stood were built on a curve, instead of with

<sup>a</sup> Vol. liv. 357.



an angle as at the other points where the wall changes its direction. Why this particular corner alone was rounded it is difficult to say.

Yet another question has to be dealt with, and that is, what was the course of the street leading into the town from the east gate?

It is clear from the town plan, not only that the original street led directly from the gate, but the gate itself was built slightly askew with the wall so as to face it exactly. Yet for some unknown reason this first street was diverted from its course and actually built over in three separate places. With the object of finding what had happened a series of trenches was run northwards from the old street. These soon revealed the unmistakeable lines of the new street, owing to its gravel layers being somewhat raised above the general surface. Its course was nearly parallel with the imperfect enclosure north of *Insula XXX.*, and the abundance of loose flints along the line showed clearly that the enclosure in question had a wall along the street. The exact line of this could not, however, be definitely laid down on plan. As the street proceeded westwards it gradually curved and eventually passed between Block VI. of *Insula XXIX.* and the walled enclosure north of it in *Insula XXXVI.* Beyond this it was not necessary to trace it, since it could only have continued on to join the street between the next two *insulae* westwards. The new street was easily traced eastwards as far as the modern farm buildings, but beyond them its course could not be followed, owing to the area enclosed by the buildings having been long since lowered to get down to a firm and dry bottom for the stock. It is, however, worth while noting that the general direction of the new street was not towards the middle of the gate, as in the case of the original street, but towards the southernmost of the two archways. Now it will perhaps be remembered that when the west gate was uncovered in 1890 we found that during the later days of the life of the town one of the arches had been closed and roughly built up. Does not the line of direction of the new street suggest a similar state of things having existed at the east gate? It is of course true that nothing was found in proof of this, but the complete destruction of the gate above ground would account for the disappearance of whatever evidence may have existed. It is also difficult to see why the west gate should have been partly built up and not the eastern as well.

With the investigation of these lines of road the year's work came to an end, and when the filling in had been finished on the 10th of December, so had the complete and systematic examination of the hundred acres within the wall of *Calleva Atrebatum* which was begun in 1890.

It only remains to say a few words on such of the minor finds of 1908 as have not already been noticed.

Foremost among these are the curious sandstone fragments from the filling in of the basilica, with the deep indentations caused by the sharpening of tools, probably of the carvers of the fine Corinthian capitals, etc. that adorned the basilica itself.

Of objects in metal the most curious is a small silver disc,  $\frac{7}{16}$  inch in diameter, evidently part of a seal, since the design and lettering are reversed, engraved with a rude bust of a man encircled by four stars and the word *vivas*. Two bronze bowls, found within the area of House No. 1, *Insula XXXVI.*, also deserve attention, if only for their perfect condition (fig. 4). The other bronze objects include a considerable number of brooches of various types, a disc with a *phallus* in relief (no doubt a charm against the evil eye), and the usual miscellaneous lot of nails,



Fig. 4. Two bronze bowls found in House No. 1, *Insula XXXVI.* (4.)

bangles, rings, etc. Bone objects are represented by the customary group of pins, but the finds of glass and iron are insignificant.

The plant remains, which have been examined with his usual patient care by Mr. Lyell, have only yielded one new species and that of little interest, *Polygonum amphibium*. Mr. Clement Reid also notes the finding, for the third time at *Callera*, of a number of box leaves. Professor Newton has nothing to report concerning the bones of animals examined by him.

Although the area of the Romano-British town has now been completely excavated and planned there still remains another season's work for the examination of the outer defences, and of the ditch encircling the existing wall. Until this has been completed, it is hoped during the current season, it will be well to defer until next year the consideration of the general results deducible from the excavations and the reports on the pottery and other objects now in the Reading



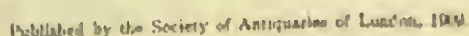
Museum, which have been most kindly promised by Mr. H. B. Walters and other experts.

The accompanying block plan (fig. 5) shows the progress made in the excavation of the site of the town down to the end of 1908.



Fig. 5. Block plan of the Roman town of Silchester, showing portions excavated down to the end of 1908.









XIX.—*Wooden Monumental Effigies in England and Wales.* By ALFRED C. FRYER,  
*Esq., Ph.D., F.S.A.*

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Read 26th November, 1908.

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THE forty-sixth volume of *Archæologia* contains a paper on Little Horkesley church, Essex, by Sir Clements R. Markham, with some account of the three wooden monumental effigies in that church.\* A carefully prepared list of the wooden monumental effigies in England and Wales is appended to that paper. This list is arranged as a topographical index, and records the existence of seventy-eight wooden effigies. Four, however, are given in error, so that this number is reduced to seventy-four. Recent research now permits nineteen more to be added to this list. Sir Clements R. Markham only refers to six wooden effigies which were destroyed; records of sixteen more, however, are now appended, and it is quite probable that this unfortunate list may have to be extended as further knowledge of our lost effigies comes to light.

Some notices of wooden monumental effigies are found in the work of the industrious Weever, who studied effigies in the dioceses of Canterbury, London, and Rochester in the seventeenth century. Gough's stately folios on *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*; Stothard's great work on *Monumental Effigies*, which was brought to a conclusion by his untimely death in 1821; the Rev. Thomas Kerrich's beautiful drawings now preserved in the British Museum;

\* Pp. 269-280.



Mr. Albert Hartshorne's splendid work on the *Recumbent Monumental Effigies of Northamptonshire*; Mr. Chancellor's *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex*; the volumes of Lysons's *Magna Britannia*; and the beautiful work of the brothers Hollis, have all given us some illustrations and scattered references to a few of our wooden effigies.

The county histories contain a few records of this class of monumental effigies; for example, the paper on the effigy of Robert du Bois, at Fersford, Norfolk, by Blomefield,<sup>a</sup> is of value, and there is a long account of the effigy of Sir John Pitchford in Eyton's *Shropshire*.<sup>b</sup> The most valuable paper on wooden effigies in the county histories is to be found in the first volume of the new *Victoria History of Northamptonshire*,<sup>c</sup> by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, whose wide and extensive knowledge has been so freely at the service of the author of this paper. *Notes and Queries* contains a few useful references, and the transactions of the county archaeological societies contain papers on a few individual wooden effigies. Mr. Henry Laver has written on the Elmstead knight,<sup>d</sup> Canon Bazeley and Miss M. L. Bazeley on the effigy of Robert, Duke of Normandy, in Gloucester cathedral church,<sup>e</sup> Mr. W. H. St. John Hope on a wooden effigy and tomb of a secular canon in the church of All Saints, Derby,<sup>f</sup> while in the volumes of the *Archaeological Journal* a paper is found on the effigy of a priest at Little Leighs, Essex,<sup>g</sup> on four wooden effigies at Clifton Reynes, Buckinghamshire,<sup>h</sup> and the cross-legged effigy of a layman at Much Marcle, Herefordshire,<sup>i</sup> has been carefully described by Mr. Bloxam. The *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*<sup>j</sup> contain a paper on the wooden effigy of a lady at Tavistock, Devon; but by far the most important work on effigies in wood is the paper by Mr. Albert Hartshorne in *Some Minor Arts*.<sup>k</sup>

As far as can be at present ascertained there are ninety-three wooden monumental effigies<sup>l</sup> existing in England and Wales, and these are distributed

<sup>a</sup> Vol. i. 104.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. vi. 282.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. i. 400.

<sup>d</sup> *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, x. Part 3.

<sup>e</sup> *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, xxvii. 289.

<sup>f</sup> *Transactions of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, viii. 185.

<sup>g</sup> Vol. xviii. 77.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. xxxiii. 239.

<sup>i</sup> P. 55.

<sup>j</sup> Vol. xi. 142.

<sup>k</sup> Vol. vi. 192.

<sup>l</sup> The wooden figures of William of Valence and King Henry V. in Westminster Abbey were covered with metal plates; yet they have been included in the above number, although these wooden cores cannot be called sculpture when deprived of their plates.

over twenty-six counties.<sup>a</sup> Fifty-eight are military personages, and among them we find one duke and three earls. There are twenty-four ladies, and of their number four are countesses. We have also one king, one judge, three laymen, one archbishop, and three priests, and two of the effigies have cadavers.

Authentic records exist of twenty-two wooden effigies which have been destroyed, and these were located in eleven different counties.<sup>b</sup> Fourteen were military personages, including one earl; six were ladies, including one countess; and there was one bishop, one secular priest, and one civilian.

The story of the destruction of these effigies is a painful episode in the history of monumental tombs. It is recorded by Major Davies that in the middle of the last century the washerwomen of Brecon were using fragments of the wooden effigy of Reginald Breos. Five out of six effigies belonging to the family of Games were destroyed by the Parliamentary soldiers when they visited the priory church of Brecon. The effigy of Anthony, the last Lord Lucy of Egremont, Cumberland, disappeared about the close of the eighteenth century. The effigy of the wife of Sir John Stowford no longer exists at West Down, Devon, and the effigy which is supposed to have been that of Andrew Stanley, first Master of Greatham Hospital, county Durham, was existing in 1794. As many as four wooden effigies probably belonging to the Vere family, and including at least one to an Earl of Oxford, were destroyed at Earl's Colne, Essex, during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The effigy of Sir William Messing was actually ordered to be destroyed by the vicar of the church at Messing about one hundred years ago, and the parish clerk obeyed the directions of his tactless superior to the very letter. An effigy in Abbey Dore is stated by Gough to have been that of Bishop Caduean, and in excellent preservation in 1786 when only the top of the pastoral staff was damaged. Since that date it has been destroyed. The bishop died in 1225, and a wooden effigy of so early a date would have been of great value. A diminutive effigy of a knight at Ayot St. Lawrence, Herefordshire, has been destroyed, and one to Sir Baldwin Wake (died 1282) at Market

<sup>a</sup> Six Berkshire, four Buckinghamshire, one Brecknockshire, two Cambridgeshire, two Cumberland, two Derbyshire, two Devonshire, seven Durham, ten Essex, two Gloucestershire, six Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, two Herefordshire, three Kent, two Middlesex, one Monmouthshire, one Nottinghamshire, three Norfolk, ten Northamptonshire, two Rutland, two Staffordshire, four Shropshire, two Somersetshire, six Suffolk, one Surrey, one Sussex, and nine Yorkshire.

<sup>b</sup> Six Brecknockshire, one Cumberland, one Devonshire, one Durham, five Essex, two Herefordshire, one Lincolnshire, one Nottinghamshire, one Northamptonshire, one Shropshire, and two Suffolk.



Deeping, Lincolnshire, is no longer existing. An effigy of a knight, said to be the founder of the church at Radcliff-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire, was existing until the last century, when it met with an untimely end. During a local celebration of one of the victories in the Peninsular War the populace seized the effigy, dressed it up in an old uniform, and styling it Napoleon burnt it in a blazing bonfire. Until the early part of the eighteenth century the church of Holdenby, Northamptonshire, possessed a valuable wooden effigy of a franklin of the time of Edward III., and there is a tradition that it was removed by some gentleman who drove away with it in a carriage. Mr. Albert Hartshorne possesses a sketch of a wooden effigy of a knight of the Ercall family which once existed at High Ercall, Shropshire. This sketch was made by the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne in 1835, and since that date the effigy has disappeared. Heveningham church, Suffolk, has lost two wooden effigies; they were existing in 1833, but soon after that date they were wantonly destroyed by fire. This is only a meagre record, but there must have been, at one time, a vast number of wooden effigies which are now lost or were even actually destroyed by their custodians or with their permission.

The exposure of the dead at the funeral was followed towards the close of the fourteenth century by the practice of bearing in the funeral procession the hastily made "lively effigy" of the dead person "in his very robes of estate." This was placed temporarily in the church under or associated with the "herse." These "lively figures" were closely allied to wooden effigies, and may have been suggested by them as their foundations were of wood, while the face and hands were of wax or fine plaster tinted to life. These figures, dressed in gorgeous robes and with tinsel crowns and ornaments, presented a life-like appearance. Some of them, dating from Plantagenet times to the beginning of last century, are still preserved in Westminster Abbey, and are known as the "Ragged Regiment." \*

In Cornwallis's *Life of Prince Henry*, who died in 1612 at the age of eighteen, it is stated that the day before the funeral "his Representation was brought (made in so short Warning, as like him as could be) and apparelled with Cloaths, having his Creation Robes above the same, his Cap and Crown upon his Head, his Garter, Coller, with a *George* about his Neck, his golden Staff in his Right Hand lying

\* See the exhaustive paper "On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with special reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster" by W. H. St. John Hope in *Archæologia*, lx. 517-570; also *Some Minor Arts*, 57; *Portraiture in Recumbent Effigies*, by Albert Hartshorne, 28-30.

cross a little; briefly, every Thing as he was apparelled at the Time of his Creation; which being done, it was laid on the Back on the Coffin, and fast bound to the same, the Head thereof being supported by two Cushions, just as it was to be drawn along the Streets in the Funeral Chariot.”<sup>a</sup>

“The Coffin with the Representation (as is before said) remaining still under the Hearse, to be seen of all, until the 19th of the said Month of *December*,<sup>b</sup> when decked and trimmed with Cloaths, as he went when he was alive, Robes, Collar, Crown, Golden Rod in his Hand, &c. it was set up in a Chamber of the said Chapel at *Westminster*, amongst the Representations of the Kings and Queens, his famous Predecessors, where it remaineth for ever to be seen.”<sup>c</sup>

We learn from a record in the reign of Henry III. that wood was used for the foundation of a statue for the tomb of Princess Catherine, who died in 1257, which was covered with silver-gilt plates.<sup>d</sup> It is probable that this was for a figure of St. Catherine and not for an effigy of the princess. However, in 1296 we find that a tomb was erected in Westminster Abbey to William of Valence. This has a full-sized wooden figure covered with a number of plates of copper, some of which were enamelled. This work, like the tomb of Walter of Merton, Bishop of Rochester,<sup>e</sup> now destroyed, was sent from Limoges, and was doubtless the work of John of that city. The human form is poorly expressed, and the makeshift way of covering the junctions of the sheets with strips of filagree-work is poor art. The artist has depicted “banded mail,” and the delicate enamel work of a series of scutcheons on the surcoat, and the great enamelled shield worn on the hip after the French manner, show technical skill of a high order. This monument must have presented an appearance of great splendour when the wooden chest<sup>f</sup> upon which the effigy rests was also adorned with metal plates. These have all been removed, and this denuded memorial is but a shadow of a tomb which once presented a gorgeous and almost barbaric magnificence. The effigy of Henry V. is also a wooden figure which was once adorned with silver plates.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Charles Cornwallis, *An Account of the Baptism, Life, Death and Funeral of the Most Incomparable Prince FREDERICK HENRY, Prince of WALES*. (London, 1751), 47.

<sup>b</sup> Twelve days after the funeral.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* 50.

<sup>d</sup> The Chancellor's Roll of 56 Henry III. (1272).

<sup>e</sup> In the Louvre is a wooden effigy of Blanche de Champagne, died 1283. This is covered with plates of copper, and the head rests upon an enamelled cushion of Limoges work.

<sup>f</sup> An early example of a wooden tomb, but supporting a stone effigy, is that of William Longespée in Salisbury cathedral church.



Queen Catherine, widow of Henry V., presented the effigy, but in 1546 thieves broke into the abbey, stripped the monument of its metal plates, and carried away the silver head of the king.<sup>a</sup>

The medieval artist selected a piece of oak, sound at the heart, in good condition, and sufficiently wide for him to carve the figure of a knight in armour or a lady in kirtle and long mantle lying on a board or bed. The portion of the board with the effigy on it, as well as the cushions upon which the head rested, and the animal at the feet, were hollowed out and filled with charcoal to absorb moisture.<sup>b</sup> Having carved the figure and fastened with wooden pins such parts as lay beyond the size of his block it was ready for decoration. The effigy would then be sized and pieces of linen would be glued over the cracks and other inequalities. The decorator would then give the figure a thin coat of so-called gesso, with a still thicker coating for those portions he desired to decorate in relief such as the mail or surfaces afterwards to be gilded or silvered. Before the gesso hardened the decorator impressed it with various matrices or stamps of diverse patterns; some being for mail of various sizes and others for decorative purposes. Several processes were in use for gilding those surfaces required to be treated in this manner. To give depth or richness to the gold or silver leaf, they were first treated with bole Armenian<sup>c</sup> applied with white of egg either left dead or burnished with an agate. All the painting on the effigy was done in distemper (tempera). Finally the figure was covered with a coat of plain or tinted oleaginous varnish, which was needful, but alas it did not prove to be a sufficient protection.<sup>d</sup>

Hollis gives a fine illustration of the Englefield lady, depicting her in a blue gown and mantle lined with red, the cushion upon which her head rests being a chocolate colour pricked out with a white pattern.<sup>e</sup> Traces of red may be seen on the arm of the later of the two knights (c. 1325) at Clifton Reynes, and his lady

<sup>a</sup> The will of Henry VII. expressed the desire that an "ymage of tymber" of a king, covered with plates of fine gold, in the manner of an armed man, be made and set up on the crest of the shrine of the Confessor.

<sup>b</sup> Blomefield found that the effigy of Sir Robert du Bois, who died 1311, was hollowed out and filled with charcoal.

<sup>c</sup> The *Bole Armenian* is an earthly mineral which occurs in amorphous masses and is composed chiefly of silica with 20 per cent. of alumina and 10 of iron. It has a dull yellow, brownish or red colour, has a greasy feel, and yields to the nail. It is opaque and slightly translucent.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Albert Hartshorne gives a detailed description of the use of gesso in the decoration of both stone and wooden effigies. See *Some Minor Arts*, 62-64.

<sup>e</sup> Hollis's *Monumental Effigies*.

has evidently had a red kirtle with sleeves. In the deep folds of the surcoat of Sir John Hastings at Abergavenny we find fragments of a bright red; while Hawise Keynes, at Dodford, has a white wimple and a blue kirtle. Minute fragments of the decoration of the mantle of Dame Eleanor Treylli, at Woodford, show that "it was diapered in two shades of red and white in alternate quatre-foils containing concentric foliations and circles intermittently decorated with swans and cinquefoils."<sup>a</sup> The Rev. T. Kerrich has left us a faithful description of the colour he found on the effigy of a knight at Banham,<sup>b</sup> which has now, alas, been painted and sanded to represent stone. The surcoat was a brownish crimson flowered with yellow, the laces for the headpiece were red, the sword belt and girdle yellow flowered with green, and the spur straps decorated with green, yellow, red, and black. The cushion under the head of the knight was black flowered like the girdle, and the board was green with flowers and leaves painted upon it. The links of mail were painted on a flat surface, but later in the fourteenth century they were frequently gilt.

Some decorations in gesso on stone effigies were designs exhibiting great variety and beauty, and Mr. Albert Hartshorne points out in his valuable article on *Some Minor Arts*,<sup>c</sup> that many of the early ones were clearly inspired by oriental fabrics brought back by the Crusaders. Few of these beautiful designs are now to be seen on the wooden effigies, as only fragments of the ancient adornment have come down to us. The effigy of Sir Robert du Bois, at Fersfield, Norfolk, was repainted by Blomefield (1734) in the colours he found upon it. The head-piece, surcoat, and gauntlets were powdered with ermine, and the girdle was coloured red inside. Fine patterns were worked in slight relief on sunk panels imitating enamels and placed on the gilded or silvered surfaces of the sword-belt and spur-straps, and also let into the board, which was green and adorned with flowers and leaves. Other effigies have been repainted in recent years, but it is impossible to know if those who carried out the work were as careful to retain the same colours as was the restorer of the Fersfield figure. The effigy and cadaver at Worsborough were repainted in 1833 by a local man at Barnsley, and seven years later the one of John Heath, at St. Giles, Durham, was also repainted in colour; while those at Brading, Burford, Chew Magna,

<sup>a</sup> *Victoria History*, Northants, i. 401.

<sup>b</sup> See Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, i. part i. 38; and the Kerrich Coll. (British Museum), 6732, p. 13.

<sup>c</sup> Page 63.



Gloucester cathedral church, and Goudhurst have been similarly treated during the past sixty years.

Local legends have gathered round some of these dark and battered memorials of the dead. The effigy of the knight at Berrington has long been known as *Old Serier*, and he is reputed to have been a great warrior who slew a lion at Eaton Mascot. The lion, however, gave the knight a fearful wound in the face before it was dispatched by his good sword. No doubt the lion at the foot of the effigy, and the damaged face of the knight, were the groundwork of a story which is widely circulated. For long the effigy at Chew Magna<sup>a</sup> has been called Sir John Hanteville, whose gigantic strength was reputed to be such that he was able to throw two stone quoits, each weighing upwards of 30 tons, the distance of a mile, and to have carried three men to the top of Norton church tower, one under each arm and the third in his teeth. The position of the effigy of a knight at Bures may have given colour to the story that this man in a drunken freak sold his property of Corn Hall for fourpence. Whereupon the clergy declared he should neither be buried in the church nor in the churchyard. Hence he received burial in the wall. The dilapidated fragment of a knight at Midsomer Norton is commonly called Jack O'Lent, and the spurious thirteenth-century effigy at Gatcombe is known as St. Radegund, although the effigy is that of a man and the saint was a queen. Vast numbers of Yorkshire people annually visit the effigy of Sir Thomas Cresacre at Barnborough on account of an ancient story which asserts that he was attacked by a wild cat, and there was a running fight until they reached the porch of the church, where the mortal combat ended in the death of both. It may be that there is some truth in the story, and that the knight was attacked by one of these ferocious animals, or it may have originated from the crest of this family being a cat-a-mountain, or even from some red coloured stones in the porch which tradition declares to be the spot where the conflict ended.

Two of the earlier wooden effigies possess histories which is necessary to recall. The first refers to the effigy of Robert, Duke of Normandy, in Gloucester cathedral church.<sup>b</sup> The duke died in 1135, and it is now considered that the

<sup>a</sup> This curious effigy is probably to some member of the Cheyne family. The manor of Norton passed into their possession in 1328, and this effigy was most likely carved between 1340 and 1350.

<sup>b</sup> The effigy rests on an oblong wooden box of late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century workmanship, and now lies in the presbytery. It seems that the body of the duke was removed into the presbytery after the suppression of the abbey, as the inscription "Hic jacet Robertus Curtus" is in the chapter-house.

effigy was probably made about the year 1280. Canon Bazeley points out<sup>a</sup> that the figure is very similar to the effigy of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who died in 1272, found at Hayles Abbey, if we can judge from the fragments. The crown on Duke Robert's effigy, with its fleurs-de-lys and strawberry leaves, is similar to that introduced by Henry IV.; it has no arch or crosses party such as appear in later royal crowns. During the Civil War the effigy was broken in pieces and sold to Sir Humphrey Tracey, of Stanway, who kept it until the Restoration, when it was mended and again placed in the cathedral. It is difficult to know how much of the present effigy is original, and which portions were added at the Restoration to make good any fragments that were missing. If, however, a new crown had been constructed it would have had eight strawberry leaves only. The effigy appears to be solid, and the hauberk, with its continuous hood and other details, indicates its early character. The thickness of the paint with which it was covered in the reign of Charles II. makes it impossible to say by what method the mail is represented. This is considered by some authorities to be one of the oldest existing wooden effigies we now possess, and is a memorial of a forlorn captive who is such a pathetic character in the history of England.

The second effigy is a knight in St. Saviour's cathedral church, Southwark, which has been "restored," and Mr. Albert Hartshorne conjectures that the restorer was probably Richardson, who was busy doing similar work on the Temple effigies some seventy years ago. The restorer appears to have coated the effigy with some sort of dark *gesso*, and then impressed all over the mail with a tool. Originally it was, doubtless, an excellent effigy, but it is now very difficult to know the full extent of the "restoration," and it is probable that the restorer considerably changed the appearance of the figure. The face is evidently modern with protruding eyes and hooked nose. There should have been no moustache like the one depicted, as the face would have been clean shaven; and the hood should have covered most of the chin to form a protection. As the hands are in mufflers we should expect the hood of mail and the hauberk to be continuous, but this is not the case, and the head is in a coif of mail. This shows a serious anachronism. The original effigy was doubtless carved between 1290 and 1300; and when the restorer took it in hand he probably found a denuded, decaying, wooden figure, but he has improved it, particularly in the loose lie of the mail and the folds of the surcoat.

Now that we have considered the "restoration" of the Southwark knight,

<sup>a</sup> See *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, xxvii. 289.



we must turn our attention to the wooden cross-legged effigy of a knight placed in a recess in the north wall of Gatecombe church, which has long been an antiquarian puzzle. Some have conjectured that it is an early figure of a knight in mail, with surcoat, sword, and shield, which has suffered much from many reckless and ill-advised restorations. Others, however, like Mr. Percy G. Stone,<sup>a</sup> have come to the conclusion that it is an anachronism which was perpetrated in Jacobean times. Such things were very frequently done, and Mr. Stone reminds us that this was especially the case with the effigies of ancestors made by minor artists. This effigy is certainly the work of an inferior sculptor, and possesses little merit, and cannot even be considered quaint. The head is encased in a salade which is certainly not of the thirteenth century, but there is no doubt that the heads of the knight and the angel supporting the cushion are more recent restorations. The only part of the mail which may be ancient is the hauberk, and the portion below the waist is not likely to be earlier than the fifteenth century, while the consensus of opinion declares that it has a Jacobean feeling. If the effigy were intended to represent some member of the Estur family, to whom the manor of Gatecombe belonged from the time of Domesday until the reign of Edward II. the shield would have been kite-shaped had it been carved before the middle of the thirteenth century, and if the figure had been executed later than that date the circular cushion under the head would have been replaced by two cushions, the upper one lozenge-shaped and the lower one rectangular; and in any case the shield-strap is too broad.

The series of wooden effigies contains only one of a lawyer. This is to be found at West Down, Devon, and represents Sir John Stowford, who died about 1372. He was a judge in the Court of Common Pleas, and for one month (November, 1345) was Chief Baron of the Exchequer. His effigy is fully robed. The undergown or cassock reaches to his feet, and the tight-fitting sleeves can be seen above the outer gown. The tippet or cape is pleated at the shoulders, and is evidently made of a softer material than those of the time of Henry VI. The hood falls forward on the neck, and the head was doubtless in a coif, but it is now sadly mutilated.

Although we have only one lawyer, yet the Church is represented by four ecclesiastics. The oldest effigy is that of a priest at Clifford, Herefordshire. It is a particularly fine and perfect wooden figure, probably representing a rector of this parish about 1270 to 1280. He is tonsured and robed in Eucharistic vest-

<sup>a</sup> See Percy G. Stone, *Architectural Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*, ii. 25.

ments, and the long chasuble (3 feet 10 inches) is depicted in elegant folds. This chasuble, however, has not the multitudinous folds, nor is it so pointed, as those found on effigies of bishops and priests dating from 1225-1250; neither is it as full and heavy in the folds as those shown on effigies of 1290. The length of the chasuble and the treatment of the folds are very similar to the chasubles depicted on the effigies of Bishop Aquablanca of Hereford, who died 1268, and Bishop Bronescombe of Exeter, who died in 1280. The treatment of the hair on the Clifford priest is very similar to these Hereford and Exeter bishops. It is not impossible that the face is a portrait. The nose is damaged, but the features show considerable character.

The effigy of Archbishop Peckham, who died in 1296, rests on the original tomb in the north wall of the Martyrdom of Canterbury cathedral church. He is vested in alb, amice, stole, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble, pall, mitre, and gloves, and when this figure was painted it must have presented an appearance as rich and magnificent as the stone effigy of Bishop Bronescombe (1280) in Exeter cathedral church.

The third effigy of an ecclesiastic is met with at Little Leighs, Essex, and reposes under a beautiful ogee arch of the same date. This effigy is also robed in Eucharistic vestments and probably dates from the middle of the fourteenth century. The benefice was then in the gift of the prior and convent of Little Lees, and in 1333 they presented Robert Kere to the living. The effigy may either be that of this priest or of his successor John French.

Our fourth effigy of an ecclesiastic is in All Saints' church, Derby. This figure represents a secular canon vested in cassock, surplice, almuce, and cope. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, in his paper on this effigy,\* points out that it shows most admirably the tails forming the fringe of the furred almuce, and those on the pendant in front. The addition of the cope is an uncommon feature. It is conjectured with great probability that this is the effigy of Robert Johnson, who was sub-dean of the collegiate church of All Saints', Derby, as late as 1527. He was a great benefactor to this church. In 1723 All Saints' church was demolished, except the tower, and this tomb was broken up. The south side was preserved on account of its elaborate carving, while the effigy and cadaver found a home in a damp vault. Mr. Hope obtained the help of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society in 1879, and after some delay the work of restora-

\* *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological Natural History Society*, xiii. 185-189. The effigy and cadaver were exhibited by Mr. Hope to the Society of Antiquaries on the 13th March, 1884. See *Proceedings*, 2nd S. x. 63-66, and the accompanying engraving of the subdean's effigy.



tion was proceeded with. The head of the effigy, which was loose, had been stolen before the figure was removed from the vault. Mr. Hope was fortunately able to recover it. The side of the tomb had been affixed to the consistory seat. It was removed in 1885 and became the south side of the monument. This fine piece of carving has thirteen figures of bede-folk sculptured in high relief, and they stand in an arcade with singular pointed canopies supported by twisted shafts.

Although there are four ecclesiastics, yet we find only three laymen in the series of wooden effigies. They are franklins, and date from about the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>a</sup> The one at Eaton-under-Haywood, Shropshire, reposes under a beautiful cinquefoiled canopy, decorated with the scroll moulding and adorned with the ball-flower. He is dressed in a long gown which conceals the inner garment, and the close-fitting hood covers the head. The other effigy is at Much Marele, Herefordshire, and the figure has a close-fitting tunic a little over five feet in length, buttoned in front, reaching to the knees, and possessing tight-fitting sleeves buttoned from the elbows to the wrists. The hood is worn about the neck and part of the breast, but is not drawn over the head. Over the hips is a leathern girdle with a long pendant, and a small purse is buckled to it. The legs are in close-fitting pantaloons, the right is crossed over the left, and the shoes are pointed. Cross-legged effigies in the dress of a civilian are very rare. Mr. Bloxam points out<sup>b</sup> that there is one in Thurlaston church, Leicestershire, and one at Birkin, near Normanton. Mr. James G. Wood has had access to the manuscript histories of Herefordshire in the library of the Benedictine Community of Belmont, and after most careful perusal of them he has come to the conclusion that in all probability the effigy at Much Marele was removed from Ashperton to the new chantry chapel about 1414, and that it represents Sir Hugh Helyon. This interesting effigy is an excellent figure, but rather tall, slim, and clean cut. The long face, the hair parted in the middle, and the short beard, lead us to conjecture that some effort has been made by the artist to produce a portrait and not merely a conventional type of face.

At Little Baddow, Essex, are two effigies in wood; one is a lady dressed in kirtle, super-tunic, wimple, and veil, and the other is, doubtless, her husband in the dress of a civilian. He wears an under-gown or cassoek with tight-fitting

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Bloxam dates the one at Much Marele about 1350, and Mr. Albert Hartshorne would assign it to about the year 1360.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæological Journal*, xxxiii. 239.

sleeves fastened with eighteen buttons, and his outer gown has wide open sleeves reaching only to the elbows. The hair is worn long, falling in curls to the neck, and the face is clean shaven. Mr. Chancellor in his *Sepulchral Monuments of Essex*<sup>a</sup> considers that the effigies represent mother and daughter rather than two sisters as the tradition runs. The long gown and the hair worn in wavy ringlets to the shoulders evidently deceived Mr. Chancellor when he classed this effigy as a lady belonging to the first half of the fourteenth century.

The question of portraiture in effigies is one which Mr. Albert Hartshorne has made his own,<sup>b</sup> and after studying his valuable book we feel sure that some few of the wooden effigies belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may have been portraits, as they exhibit a marked variety of countenances, and one or two even portray individuality and character. The four ecclesiastics might well have been executed from life or even produced from careful instructions given after death. Yet, in many instances, the faces we now look upon must have been caricatures of the men and women they pretend to represent. Surely William of Valence in Westminster Abbey never possessed so crude a countenance as John of Limoges has given him; while the features of Hugh Helyon at Much Marele and John Hastings at Abergavenny may well have been intended for portraits. In fact portraiture was carried out only where circumstances were favourable for its production. In some cases the effigies were made during lifetime, and in others perhaps from sketches made by those who remembered the deceased; while in the later part of the fourteenth century and throughout the two following centuries, no doubt in special cases, the artist availed himself of the likeness in wax or fine plaster of the "living" figure of the deceased borne on the "herse" in the funeral procession.

It seems more than probable that many of the early wooden effigies came from workshops where the image-makers had full appliances for producing them artistically. They were highly finished productions, and London and possibly Bristol had each its speciality in effigies. Mr. Edward S. Prior has come to the conclusion that there is a peculiarity in the representation of the mail upon the arms, as this is carved in stone and marble at Salisbury, Wareham, Shepton Mallet, and Malvern, as well as in the statues at Wells, and in the wooden effigy of Robert, Duke of Normandy, at Gloucester. Since this peculiarity is particularly to be observed in the knights at Bristol which were carved, say from

<sup>a</sup> Note to pl. cxxv.

<sup>b</sup> *Portraiture in Recumbent Effigies*, by Albert Hartshorne.



1250-1280, it may be conjectured that a school for the production of stone effigies established itself at Bristol, and that in copy of these Robert Duke of Normandy was made. Some few wooden effigies, however, appear to be the work of unskilled carvers, and the ill-shaped figure of Sir Thomas le Latimer, at Braybrooke, Northamptonshire, was possibly the product of a village Phidias in the year 1334. It is unfortunate that the painting has all disappeared, as it would have been interesting to see how the village decorator covered this particularly gnarled and knotty piece of oak with his gesso work. The same may be said of the civilian and lady at Little Baddow in Essex, and probably of some others. Mr. Prior has also pointed out that it is not likely that the military effigies of knights with legs crossed and legs straight emanated from the same workshop at the same time; nor were the effigies of knights with hands raised on the breast in the attitude of prayer and those holding their sword handles executed by the same carver; nor the ladies with looped-up skirts from the same workshop as the dames in long mantles.

Although a vast number of wooden effigies have been ruthlessly destroyed, yet fortunately we still possess a sufficient number to enable us to trace the progress of English effigies in wood from the latter part of the thirteenth century, when the figure of Robert, Duke of Normandy, was placed in St. Peter's abbey at Gloucester, to the middle of the seventeenth century, when that of Sir John Oglander was carved for Brading church.

The group of wooden effigies made in the thirteenth century is not large. We have already referred to those of Robert, Duke of Normandy, and the knight in St. Saviour's cathedral church, Southwark, and have dwelt on their vicissitudes and the "restorations" they have passed through. Sir John Pitchford died in 1285, and his wooden effigy rests on an oblong chest in the chancel of St. Michael's church at Pitchford. This is a very fine effigy, and one of the earliest we now possess. In several respects the knight resembles the stone effigy of William Longespée in Salisbury cathedral church, a little earlier in date, but also resting on a wooden tomb. It is probable that the sculptors of both effigies were influenced by the same school of carving. The length and shape of the surcoat, the flat-topped hood, and the buckling on the sword-belt indicate that the effigy of Sir John Pitchford was probably executed during the later years of the thirteenth century. The wooden tomb decorated with trefoil-headed arches, each containing a heater-shaped shield of arms suspended by a strap, is very remarkable. Another wooden effigy of this century is to Margaret, second wife of Adam Everingham, at Laxton, Nottinghamshire. This is a graceful figure of a lady in

a wimple, veil flowing to the shoulders and confined round the head with a circlet, a long loose gown, and a mantle caught up under her arm. This effigy and the stone effigies to her husband and his first wife are all crowded together on the founder's tomb, so that the wooden figure projects over the side of the slab, and, in fact, the canopy was destroyed to make room for them. Some suppose that this was done when the wooden effigy was made, but others surmise that it took place at a later date when the south chapel was so inconveniently crowded with tombs that these three effigies were removed to the position they now occupy. The effigy of Archbishop Peckham, who died in 1292, belongs to this century, and we must also assign some date in the closing years of the thirteenth century to the two wooden effigies at Little Horkesley, Essex. The lady is in a costume very similar to that of Margaret Everingham at Laxton, save that her mantle is shorter. She may be the wife of Sir William Horkesley, who died in 1296. The knight is probably a member of the Horkesley family, and may be Sir William Horkesley. The hoods of both the Horkesley knights are concentrically ringed round the face, and this indicates an early fashion, while the surcoat of the shorter knight is open up to the waist like the effigy of Robert, Duke of Normandy, in Gloucester cathedral church, to which we assign 1280 as not altogether an impossible date. Another early effigy, and possibly belonging to this century, is the oldest of the three knights at Danbury, in Essex.

The figure of the knight in mail at Berrington, Shropshire, is well carved, and so are the three knights of the great Clare family at Danbury, Essex.\* The fine and reposeful figure of a knight at Monks' Sherborne priory, Hampshire, has been ascribed, quite erroneously, to Sir John Port or Porz; but must be of some other knight half a century after his time. All these fine and skilfully executed figures show us with what care and conscientiousness the old sculptors in wood finished their work, which was immediately coated over and painted.

The effigy in mail of a knight at Clifton Reynes, Buckinghamshire, which has been known as Sir Simon Borard for many years, must be dated about 1310, and is probably that of Sir Ralph Beynes, who died in that year. At Ousby in Cumberland we find an effigy of a knight which must have been carved between 1310 and 1320, and the artist has not set out the mail on the hauberk regularly, although he has depicted the mail on the hose in regular and parallel lines. The camail is attached to a bascinet decorated with a lozenge pattern by means of loops and laces not now visible. At Elmstead, Essex,

\* One is much later than the other two.



we find a knight (1300-1315), who is probably one of the Tony family. He wears a helm over his coif of mail, and is an interesting transitional figure between the simple mail hood and the bascinet attached. The head of this knight rests on a lion, while his feet are placed in the lap of a civilian of the time of Edward II. This figure is in a long gown reaching to just below the ankles, and a hood, of which the long folds hang down the shoulders behind. The upper part of the figure has been so mutilated that some writers have come to the conclusion that it was intended for a woman. This, however, could not have been the case, as at that period the women never exposed their feet in the way we see in this figure.<sup>a</sup>

At Woodford, Northamptonshire, we find the wooden effigies of a knight and his wife, said to be Sir Walter Treylli and Dame Eleanor his wife, resting on a high tomb. The knight has a round head-piece on the coif of mail, or perhaps it is attached to it, and his knees are protected with poleyns of plate, the precursors of the more shapely knee-cops. The sword is suspended by two locketts in accordance with the new fashion then coming into use. There are no spurs, but this may doubtless be attributed to an oversight on the part of the artist of this excellent figure. The lady is also well proportioned. She wears a tight-sleeved and long gown, of which the full skirt is gathered up under the left arm in the usual way, falling in voluminous and graceful folds. Over this is worn a mantle; a deep wimple is fastened under the chin, and a long coverchief falls over it in many folds.<sup>b</sup>

The diaper work on this mantle has already been described, and is in two shades of red, with centres of white swans and "wrythen" foliations. It has been pointed out<sup>c</sup> that the general scheme is similar to that in the enamels on the pillow of William of Valence in Westminster Abbey. Sir John Treylli died in 1290, but the details of his armour show that the effigy is later, and it is therefore conjectured that his widow, Dame Eleanor, erected both memorials; she died in 1316.

The wooden effigy to Sir William Combmartin (1318) at Alderton, Northamptonshire, was banished to the belfry in 1848, but has recently been again placed in the church. Although the effigy has suffered seriously from damp, and is in a sad state of decay, yet it is a work of high artistic quality,

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Edward Prior conjectures that the figure may have been an angel similar to those at Westminster.

<sup>b</sup> *Victoria History of Northants*, i. 401.

<sup>c</sup> *Some Minor Arts*, 52.

and exhibits a figure in an attitude of great repose. It has been demonstrated<sup>a</sup> that the loose fit of the mail and the straight under eyelid are features which are associated with wooden military effigies of this, the best age, and are found in stone effigies of fully half a century earlier.<sup>b</sup>

The Alderton knight must be compared with the effigy to Sir John Hastings (1313) at Abergavenny, Monmouthshire. Mr. O. Morgan attributed this effigy to George Cantelupe, but he died in 1273, and this effigy belongs to the early years of the fourteenth century. Churchyard, who wrote in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, states that the effigy then lay on a window ledge

. . . . . removed away  
By fine device of man :  
And layd within a windowe right,  
Full flat on stonie wall :  
Where now he doth in open sight,  
Remain to people all.

But he is now removed from this elevated position and placed in the middle of the Herbert chapel in St. Mary's priory church. The perfect dignity and repose of this effigy is finely conceived, and the whole design is grand in the extreme. Mr. Albert Hartshorne compares the wooden effigies at Alderton and Abergavenny with those in stone to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, died 1296, and Aymer of Valence, died 1323, which are both in Westminster Abbey; and he is convinced that all four came from the same art centre, conjecturing that London was probably the workshop where they were fashioned. As John Hastings married as his first wife Isabel, sister to Aymer of Valence, it seems reasonable to consider that the same sculptor might have been employed to execute his monument as well as that of his brother-in-law.

Two wooden effigies of considerable interest are placed in the chancel of Weston-under-Lizard church, Staffordshire. The one in the north wall recess is probably to Sir John Weston. He accompanied the Princess Elizabeth, Countess of Holland and Hereford, as her attorney when she went into Flanders with her father, King Edward I. Sir John Weston had charge of the jewels which the princess took with her, and the little purse suspended to the belt may possibly represent his badge of office. Such a purse is rarely appended to a military

<sup>a</sup> *Some Minor Arts*, 64.

<sup>b</sup> These peculiarities appear in stone effigies before 1250, as at Wells and conspicuously at Westminster Abbey.



costume, but it is occasionally found on effigies to civilians. It is a curious fact that at High Ercall in the next county\* is a stone effigy having a purse suspended in a similar manner and of like size and dimensions. It is quite possible that the imager or wood carver copied from the stone effigy, for the mason and the imager would each have his own distinct establishment in all probability. However, it seems scarcely likely that a little purse would indicate a badge of office for both knights. Sir John Weston most likely died soon after his return from Flanders, but the exact date of his death is not known; it was probably about 1304. His effigy is an interesting work of art, and is better constructed than the one in the south wall recess which is presumably that of his nephew, Sir Hugh Weston, who died in 1305. It is to be regretted that the modern inscription placed above these effigies is not accurate, as it states that one is to Sir Hamo Weston, who died in 1188, which is quite an impossible date to assign to any English wooden effigy.

At Whorlton, Yorkshire, we possess a fine effigy to a knight in mail (1305-1310). The feet of this figure appear as if they are uncovered, and the toes are visible, yet, for all that, they are armed with spurs and the straps still remain. It has been suggested by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope that the feet were encased in thin leather, like gloves, as the spurs could hardly have been attached to bare ankles.

At Bures, Suffolk, is found an effigy of a knight in mail still possessing his shield. This defence was usually pinned on with wooden pegs and consequently easily lost. This knight is said to have been called Corne or Cornard.

The wooden effigy of Sir Robert du Bois, who died in 1311 in his forty-fourth year, is at Fersfield, Norfolk. Blomefield, the historian, was rector of Fersfield, and he found sufficient remains of colour on this effigy for him to attempt repainting it in 1734 in the same colours and design. The head of this fine figure is in a coif of mail on which is a head-piece powdered with ermine. This effigy is not cross-legged, and at the feet is a spotted buck, being the crest of Du Bois. Although Robert du Bois died in 1311, yet this effigy is an instance of the straight-legged attitude, and it is therefore possible that it was not executed until the middle of the fourteenth century, when this peculiarity again made its appearance. The wooden effigies being hollowed out were comparatively light, and therefore easy of transport, and one made in Bristol could as easily be sent to Gloucester as one fashioned in London could be despatched in a packing case to Fersfield.

\* Shropshire.

On a modern tomb at Ashton, Northamptonshire, rests the dilapidated wooden effigy of Sir Philip le Lou (1315) in a melancholy state of decay, and the monument and wooden effigy in mail of Sir Philip Gayton, at Gayton in the same county, had also fallen into bad condition until it was well and judiciously restored in 1830.

In the north aisle of Banham church, Norfolk, is an empty wall-recess wherein rested a wooden effigy for many centuries. For some strange reason the custodians have now removed it to a new wall-recess they have made for it in the chancel, and the authorities have also thought good to sand it over so that it may present the appearance of stone. Fortunately Mr. Kerrich has left us a record of the colours and designs he found upon it before this was done. The effigy belongs to the first half of the fourteenth century, and cannot be earlier than 1310. The knight is in mail, and over the coif of mail is a head-piece fastened by laces which are not now visible, and his short sleeveless surcoat reaches to just above the knees. Blomefield and Gough conjectured that this splendid effigy represented Sir Hugh Bardolph, who died in 1203; but they were quite mistaken, and it must have been more than a hundred years later when it was carved.

We find a fine effigy of a knight in mail at Burghfield, Berkshire. His left side has been completely destroyed, and he also wears a head-piece over his coif of mail. Lysons considered that the excellent effigy to a knight in mail at Hildersham, Cambridgeshire, was to Sir Thomas Busteler, but he died in 1370, and this effigy shows a knight who died some sixty years earlier. The knight in mail at Ashwell, Rutland, belongs to some member of the Touchet family. At Allerton Mauleverer, Yorkshire, we find two knights in mail, and the later of them has a head-piece strapped on to his coif of mail; while at Auckland, in the county of Durham, we find an effigy of a knight which has not emanated from the workshops of London or Bristol, but must have been of local construction. It is no work of high art, but the village craftsman has expended considerable care over the details. He portrays the knight, who is doubtless some member of the Pollard family, in a hauberk with sleeves prolonged to form mittens with thumb pieces. The mail of the hauberk and camail is well depicted, but the hose are smooth, and it is possible that the mail was painted on them, or they may be intended for jambarts of plate or boiled leather. The knight's head is in a bascinet with the camail attached, showing the lacings. The surcoat falls to the knees and is longer behind than in front.

The later of the two knights at Clifton Reynes, Buckinghamshire, was carved about 1325, and was probably some member of the Reynes family. The knight



is in mail, and he wears a skull-cap beneath his coif of mail, and beneath the hanberk is his quilted gambeson. His surcoat does not reach to his knees by several inches, and has an embattled border. This short surcoat marks the period immediately preceding the appearance of the *cyclas*. The wooden effigy to Sir Thomas le Latimer (died 1334) at Braybrooke, Northamptonshire, is a remarkably proportioned figure, and like the effigy at Auckland was the work of a village carver. It is an ill-shaped figure, carved out of a piece of knotty oak, and is 7 feet 4 inches in length. The carver has shown Sir Thomas in a short surcoat scarcely reaching to the knees and slit at the sides.

About the year 1321 a new fashion began to make its appearance. The surcoat was found to be inconveniently long, and when knights were dismounted and obliged to fight on foot the ample folds became entangled in their legs. Thus a new and curious military garment was fashioned by cutting away the whole of the front of the surcoat up to the middle of the thighs, slitting up the sides to the hips, taking it in at the body and lacing it up on the right side. This was called the *cyclas*, and it appears to have been a peculiarly English garment not having been met with on the Continent on either military effigies or brasses. The total number of examples do not amount to a score.

Our series of wooden monumental effigies depicts two knights in the *cyclas*. The first is Sir Lawrence Pavely, at Paulespury, Northamptonshire, and here we find the *cyclas* portrayed with loose sleeves reaching below the elbows. The knight wears a conical and fluted bascinet of extremely rare occurrence, to which a camail is attached by laces running through loops,\* a haketon with tight-fitting sleeves, plain cuffed gauntlets, and fluted knee-cops, while the feet are armed with rowel spurs, and the legs are clothed in mail hose bound with a cord below the knee. The sword is fastened by a double locket placed a few inches below the top of the scabbard. This monument dates about 1330, and shows a decline both in art and execution, although the figure of the knight's wife has considerable merit, and the gathered-up folds of her drapery show a fair amount of artistic power. The interest connected with the *cyclas* and the fluted bascinet worn by Sir Lawrence Pavely redeem his figure from being classed as in any way commonplace. These effigies lie upon a high freestone tomb. The north and south sides are adorned with uncharged shields suspended alternately from foliage and heads under ogeed canopies of good design, cusped and sub-cusped.

\* The brasses of Sir John Creke at Westley Waterless, and of Sir John d'Aubernoun at Stoke d'Abernoun, both show the *cyclas* and also the fluted bascinet. These brasses are illustrated in Haines's *Monumental Brasses*, part i. cli. clii.

At the west end are two plain shields: one is suspended from a queen's head crowned and wearing a wimple, the other from the head of a king bearded and crowned, and perhaps intended for Edward III.

We have to turn to Barnborough, in Yorkshire, to find our second example of the cyclas. Here we find an effigy in wood of high artistic conception, and when we look at the well-executed face we wonder if it be an example of portraiture, and if this be a likeness of Sir Thomas Cresaere, who was living in 1344. The fashion of wearing a cyclas ended about 1346, so this is one of the later effigies showing this strange military garment,<sup>a</sup> and is an instance not given in the usual lists of brasses and effigies exhibiting the cyclas. The knight wears a bascinet, camail, gambeson (showing well the quilted and padded nature of the garment), articulated shoulder-pieces, vambraces, elbow-cops, brassarts, thigh-pieces, knee-cops, jambs, articulated sollerets, while the feet are armed with rowel spurs, and the hands are in gauntlets, being raised on the breast in the attitude of prayer and holding a heart between the open palms indicative of the pictorial prayer for mercy, or possibly indicating that the knight's heart was preserved in the church. A small wall recess still exists which may have been constructed for this purpose.

The fashion of wearing the cyclas only lasted a quarter of a century, and then the jupon made its appearance.<sup>b</sup> The long flap behind the cyclas was cut away, the lower edges were scalloped or fringed, and it was laced up at the side. The earliest effigies displaying the jupon are about 1340, and the fashion lasted until the end of the century and the early years of the next. About this date, or a little earlier, the baudric was introduced. It first appears on civilians, and from it the dagger was slung on the right side, which was also adopted from the anelace of civil dress, for every franklin carried his dagger at his girdle. "In wood-craft the baudric was the special band for suspending the hunting horn from the neck, and the points or 'tyndes' of a hart's horn were reckoned in the Middle Ages so soon as a baudric, or a lyam or leash, could be hung to them."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The effigy of Sir John Lyons, Warkworth, Northamptonshire, living 1346, is usually given as the latest example of the cyclas.

<sup>b</sup> The effigy of the youth William of Hatfield, who died in 1335, is represented in his effigy at York wearing a baudric over a delicately embroidered jupon, and fastened by a large stud on the left side. In front is a loop for the anelace. This is an early civil example of the baudric as well as the jupon.

<sup>c</sup> See *Sword Belts of the Middle Ages*, by Albert Hartshorne, and *Archaeological Journal*, xlviii. 334.



The series of wooden effigies includes as many as seven knights in the jupon, a garment composed of several thicknesses of material sewed through and faced with silk or velvet, upon which were embroidered the wearer's arms. At Sparsholt, Berkshire, we find a knight and two ladies, which are supposed to represent Sir Robert Achard and his two wives. The first wife, Joan, died in 1336. The knight rests his head upon his tilting helmet with its mutilated crest, while his head is encased in the bascinet with the camail attached to it; beneath the jupon can be seen his shirt of mail. This effigy must be an early instance of the jupon as a military garment.

At Millom in Cumberland, and at Southacre in Norfolk, are mutilated fragments of wooden effigies of knights. The first is that of some member of the Huddlestone family, whose ancient stronghold is near the church. The second is probably of Sir Alexander Harsick, and not as Gough says of "the first of that surname." Fortunately the Rev. T. Kerrieh made a drawing of this effigy<sup>a</sup> in 1779, when it was in a less mutilated condition, and from this drawing we are able to see that the knight was portrayed as wearing a jupon and a baudric. He has no bascinet or camail, for his head is uncovered and the hair is worn long.

The cracked and sadly mutilated effigy of a knight at Heveningham, Suffolk, has been attributed to Sir John Heveningham, who died in 1452 or the following year; but as the figure is represented in a jupon it must therefore belong to some earlier knight, as this military garment went out of fashion by 1413, some forty years before Sir John Heveningham's effigy could have been made.

In the recess in the south wall of the sanctuary of Tickencote church, Rutland, is an effigy to a knight which has also suffered from decay and neglect. The head is protected by a bascinet, to which is attached a camail; the jupon is adorned with a fringe of fleurs-de-lys, and the baudric has been richly ornamented. It is surmized that this effigy was to Sir Roland le Dameys. He was knighted in 1355 and was living in 1388.

At Cold Higham, Northamptonshire, is a wooden effigy which is a most instructive example of the transitional period of armour. It represents Sir John Pateshull, who died in 1350. The cyclas had then gone out of fashion and the jupon had been adopted in its place; yet Sir John Pateshull is depicted in a surcoat with mail hauberk and hose of the early part of the fourteenth century; while the bascinet, camail, circular elbow-cops with single articulations,

<sup>a</sup> Kerrieh MS. Coll. (British Museum), 6,730, p. 61.

leather gauntlets having articulated fingers, and articulated knee-cops, are indicative of the middle part of the century. The head rests on two low cushions, the lower one rectangular and the upper one lozenge-shaped, such as occur in the earlier period; while at the feet is a lion, less fierce than many we find as the century advances.

The wooden effigy of a knight at Chew Magna, Somerset, is said to have been brought from Norton church, which was destroyed at the time of the Reformation. It represents a knight in transitional armour of about the middle of the fourteenth century. The knight reclines on his left side, resting on his hip and left elbow. Between the left elbow and the hip lies the shield. The right arm is brought over the breast and the hand rests on the edge of the shield. The left leg is raised from the hip and the foot placed against the side of a lion, whose open mouth is turned towards the effigy. The artist has represented this knight in prick spurs and a surcoat. This military garment was being abandoned at the time this effigy was being carved; the fashion of wearing the cyclas had nearly run its course; and the jupon was being adopted by a few military men. Mr. Edward S. Prior has pointed out that the armour and attitude of the knight resemble an effigy in stone at Aldworth in Berkshire, and other effigies in similar armour point to a date between 1340 and 1350 as a time when this figure was designed. Tradition has long assigned this effigy to Sir John Hauteville, who lived in the reign of Henry III. The last Hauteville, however, was Geoffrey, who parted with the manor of Norton in 1328 to John Wych, and on his death, in 1346, his wife Egelina married Robert Cheyne of Lincolnshire, and through her he became possessed of the manor and advowson of the church of Norton. The date 1346 agrees so well with the period when this effigy was carved that it is probable it represents John Wych who died in that year, and neither a Hauteville nor a member of the Cheyne family.

There appear to be no wooden effigies after the middle of the fourteenth century until we meet with those at Wingfield, which were made about 1415. It seems as if the frightful devastation caused by the Black Death had killed off most of the imagers and carvers in wood, as we find no wooden effigies during the period of the most serious ravages of this terrible epidemic.

The beautiful monument of Michael de la Pole, second Earl of Suffolk, and his countess, who was the daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, is in Wingfield church, Suffolk. The earl, who is described as a knight of "the most excellent and knightly reputation," accompanied King Henry V. on his military expedition into France, and died of dysentery in 1415 while the English were besieging



Harfleur. The countess was one of his executors, and it is probable that she erected this fine monument to her husband and herself soon after his death. The earl is depicted in the transitional period of armour, and he wears a jupon, and a gorget of plate over the camail. "The great simplicity of this plain suit of plate armour which he wears," wrote Mr. Stothard, "personifies the idea which we entertain of the appearance of the martial spectre so boldly imagined by Shakespeare for one of his finest dramas." The effigy of the countess is very beautiful, and the elegant folds of the drapery are not far removed from similar work of an earlier date. The countess is dressed in kirtle, super-tunic, and long mantle with a deep collar and the folds caught up over the arms. A broad belt with a large buckle encircles the waist; while the head-dress has a fret with a beautiful pattern of four-leaved flowers set in squares. A golden circlet encloses her veil, which falls to her neck. The tomb is remarkable in so far that the side facing the chancel serves as the sedilia for the high altar; while the constant recurrence of the Stafford knot indicates the badge of the countess's family. Both effigies are sculptured with great care, and are valuable examples of armour and costume of the time of Henry V. The artist gives evidence of great capacity for taking infinite pains with his work; and if this monument does not quite express the high artistic genius of the early years of the previous century, yet it is a fine work of art, and we deplore the fact that it is only a hundred years since a thick coating of paint was spread over these figures hiding the resplendent gilding and colouring which adorned the gesso work.

The mid-point of architecture as Gothic expression was reached 1270-1290, and was on the decline before wooden effigies appear to have been extensively made. The examples we possess dating from the closing years of the thirteenth century and the early years of the fourteenth century show that the wooden effigy then reached a high standard of excellence both in carving and surface decoration. When Gothic architecture fell from its high estate they, too, declined in beauty and refinement. After 1350 the stone figures lost much of their style, and the wooden figures seem to have passed away for a time altogether.

The series of wooden effigies includes twelve ladies whose dates vary from about 1290 to 1350, and their costumes during these 60 years show very little variation in fashion. The dress is most simple, consisting of a kirtle with long buttoned sleeves and over it a loose flowing gown, waistless, and having short sleeves reaching a little below the elbow. A wimple is usually worn round the neck hiding the chin and sides of the face, while the hair is kept in place by a narrow encircled fillet, and sometimes a single plait or curl appears on either side

of the forehead. On the head is a veil or coverchief, falling in elegant folds to the shoulders.

Two of the wooden effigies to ladies were most probably sculptured before the close of the thirteenth century. The one to Margaret, second wife of Adam Everingham at Laxton, Nottinghamshire, has already been described. She survived her husband, who died in 1287. The other is to a lady at Little Horkesley, Essex, and she was possibly the wife of Sir William Horkesley, who died in 1296. The costume of these two Nottinghamshire and Essex ladies is very similar save that the Horkesley lady has a shorter mantle. These two effigies and the one to Dame Eleanor Treylli, at Woodford, Northamptonshire, who died in 1316, are typical examples of the series we are now considering. The two ladies at Clifton Reynes, Buckinghamshire, are in the costumes of this period; the one dates from about 1310, and was the wife of Sir Ralph Reynes, and the other about fifteen years later. At Dodford, Northamptonshire, is an effigy in wood which probably represents Hawise Keynes, a melancholy wreck of a once beautiful figure; while at Hildersham, Cambridgeshire, is the wooden figure of a lady which was long believed to represent the wife of Sir Thomas Busteler. He died, however, in 1370, and the effigies attributed to him and his wife must belong to a much earlier date.

In the south wall of the church at Little Baddow, Essex, are two niches forming a double canopied high tomb. The fronts consist of panels containing a series of quatrefoils in circles within each of which is an uncharged heater-shaped shield. The canopies are flat ogee arches slightly tilted, and each arch has fine cusplings, while between the arches and the crocketings are spandrels. Moulded jambs support the arches, which run up to the string course, terminating in square bosses. Grouped with the monument is a piscina possessing a canopy and crocketing of the same date and character. The effigies are protected by wrought-iron scrolled stanchions, very dilapidated, and half of them are missing. The lady wears a kirtle with tight fitting sleeves fastened with twenty-four buttons, super-tunic, wimple and veil, reposing on one tomb, while her husband rests on the other. These figures probably represent members of the Filliol family, who at that time possessed the manor of Little Baddow.

There is a beautiful effigy of a lady at Englefield, Berkshire, which is illustrated by T. and G. Hollis in their *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*. She is dressed in a long gown worn high in the neck, with tight-fitting sleeves. The mantle falls to within 1 foot 6 inches of the bottom of the gown, and is gathered



in plaits at the neck. Over it is a collar,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep, and folded back under the head; and a wimple is worn round the chin and fastened under a linen coif. Of the original colouring there are now no remains. The two ladies at Sparsholt, Berkshire, both wear wimples and veils; and the mutilated effigy at Barkham, in the same county, is in a similar dress, and is supposed to represent Anne, daughter and heiress of Thomas Neville. She married Gilbert Bullock, who was living in 1336. The effigy of the wife of Sir Lawrence Pavely, at Paulespur, Northamptonshire, is a work of high artistic quality, and the gathered-up folds of the drapery have been well executed. This effigy probably dates about 1350. A little later in date, but very similar in costume, is a wooden effigy at Tawstock in Devon. It is supposed to represent Thomasin, daughter of Sir Richard Hankford, and wife of Sir William Bourchier, created Lord FitzWarine in 1448-9, but this is impossible. The effigy shows the lady as wearing a wimple and coverchief edged with lace, and her mantle is caught up over the arms, descending in graceful folds, while it is fastened by two bands secured on each side by jewelled buckles or studs.

The effigies of Ralph Neville, second Earl of Westmorland, and his second wife Margaret, daughter of Reginald, Lord Cobham, rest on a wooden tomb in the middle of the chancel of Brancepeth church, county Durham. Leland speaks of this monument as a "high tombe," but since his day it has been cut down, and now the entablature only rests on the base and plinth. The earl is in armour, and beneath the tabard escalloped at the bottom is the skirt of mail. The legs are encased in cuisses, articulated knee-pieces, and jambs, and the feet in articulated sollerets. The hands are depicted in cuffed gauntlets, the sword is slung on the left side by a transverse belt, and the baudric is meagre although richly ornamented. Over the armour is worn a collar of suns and roses,<sup>a</sup> and the pendant is the white boar of Richard III. The head-piece is a visored *salade* with its chin-piece. In action the *salade* was brought down over the face so as to join the gorget. In this effigy, however, no artifice could ever bring the eye-slit in useful proximity to the earl's eyes, and the chin-piece seems equally shorn of its true proportion. However, we can respect the motive of the artist whose device was to bring into view the earl's countenance. This particular head defence is rarely seen on monumental effigies. There is one in Meriden church, Warwickshire,<sup>b</sup> and Viscount Dillon also points out an instance of one

<sup>a</sup> Collars of this kind belong to the period 1461-1485.

<sup>b</sup> This effigy is figured in Bloxam's *Monumental Architecture*.

on a beautiful effigy of a Martin in Piddletown church, Dorset.\* In brasses it is met with in that of Robert Staunton (1458) at Castle Donington, Leicestershire,<sup>b</sup> and in that of Edmund Clere (1488) in Stokesley church, Norfolk.<sup>c</sup> Abroad the *salade* and its chin-piece are fairly frequent in Germany.<sup>d</sup> The earl died in 1484, and some writers have considered that his armour belongs to an earlier date. One authority has even gone so far as to compare it with that worn by Edward, Prince of Wales, who died in 1376. It may be that the absence of *tuilles* gives the armour the appearance of being antiquated and out of date. The gorget, however, resembles those on the Wimborne and Tong knights, and the visored *salade*, as we have already noted, is found on effigies of this period. The upper portion of the armour might have the date 1475 assigned to it, and the lower part might belong to about 1430. The countess wears a kirtle made very low in front with tight-fitting mitten sleeves, a sideless surcoat with deep facings most likely of fur; a girdle worn loosely is attached to an ornament of snus similar to those of the collar, and the long mantle is fastened by cords attached to ornaments. Round the neck is a collar of roses *en soleil*, and the pendant has a lozenge-shaped jewel set in gold. The head-dress is a shortened form of the steeple, and the veil has been held on the cushion by three figures now destroyed. The head-dress shows the transition between the steeple and the pedimental coiffure.

Wooden monumental effigies went out of fashion soon after the middle of the fourteenth century, but were again revived in the sixteenth, and the first on our list is the one to Edmund Cornwall, at Burford, Shropshire, son and heir of Sir Thomas Cornwall, who died in 1508 in his 20th year. This fine effigy rests on a wooden chest decorated with eight shields of arms, and is clad in a complete suit of plate armour of the Tudor period. The skirt of mail is scarcely visible on the effigy of this young man, but on some brasses and effigies of this date it appears below the taces and even reaches beyond the *tuilles*. The feet are in *sabbotons* or broad-toed shoes, and rest against a crowned dog, while two angels reposing

\* See *Archaeological Journal*, lv. 119. This effigy dates from 1471-1475.

<sup>b</sup> Bontell's *Series of Monumental Brasses*.

<sup>c</sup> Cotman's *Brasses of Norfolk*, i. pl. 36.

<sup>d</sup> Viscount Dillon gives a list of several on the continent (*Archaeological Journal*, lv. 119): Henneberg effigy (1490); Albrecht Dürer's "Death and the Knight" and his portraits of the Brothers Baumgartner (1506); bas-relief on the Porto Nuovo at Naples of Alphonso the Victorious and his companions who were executed in 1470; and in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence is a portrait of Erasmo da Narni (Gattamelata) and his squire by Giorgione (1438-1441). The squire wears the chin-piece, but instead of the *salade* he is seen in the cap only.



on the helmet support the uncovered head with their hands. The hair is worn long and falls to the neck covering the ears; the face is clean shaven, but not so youthful in appearance as we might expect under the circumstances; there is neither sword nor spurs.

Fourteen years later (1522) was made the remarkable wooden tomb and effigy of Sir Roger Rochley, at Worsborough, Yorkshire. This monument, or hearse, consists of a chest adorned with shields of arms of the Rochley and Monntency families with another tier and canopy above. The canopy projects, and is adorned with trefoils and circles united with a running scroll. On the chest is the ghastly cadaver in an open shroud, and above rests the squire in plate armour with a helmet on his head with the visor raised. The hair is worn long, the face clean shaven, while the countenance shows a youthful expression; yet the knight could not have been very young, as he had married twice, and his son and heir was six years old at the time of his death.

We have already referred to wooden tombs bearing wooden effigies of William of Valence in Westminster Abbey, at Worsborough in Yorkshire, Pitchford and Burford in Shropshire, Brancepeth in county Durham, and the fragment at All Saints' Church, Derby, which has been so skilfully inserted in the modern restoration. Conspicuous among this class is the remarkable one at Thornhill, Yorkshire, sustaining the figures of Sir John Savile and his two wives, Alice Vernon and Elizabeth Paston. The tomb is adorned with carving and shields of arms, and when originally constructed it must have presented the appearance of a four-post bed with the curious arrangement of a knight placed between his two wives. On the edge of the tomb is the following inscription: *Bonyz emong stonyz lys here ful styl quoylste the sawle wanderis were that God wyl in Anno DM mill[es]imo quingentissimo rigesimo nono.* The knight is in a suit of plate armour; his hair is worn long falling to his neck; and his face exhibits such sharp characteristic features that we venture to conjecture that it is intended for a portrait of Sir John Savile. The ladies are dressed in kirtles with tight-fitting sleeves having bands at the wrists and an ornamental border at the neck. The long mantles are fastened across the breast with a decorated band having gold fastenings. Their wavy hair is worn long falling to the elbows, while their veils are enclosed in golden fillets adorned with deeply cut Tudor roses bound round their temples.

Eight years after this striking monument had been placed in Thornhill church, the effigies of Sir Alexander Culpeper and his wife Constance Agnes were executed for the church of St. Mary the Virgin, at Gondhurst, Kent. The knight is exhibited in a fine suit of engraved plate armour; his head is bare

and rests on a helmet adorned with oak leaves, and placed on a large square cushion having corner tassels ; while the neck is encircled by a heavy gold chain, but the pendant is hidden by the knight's folded hands. Over his cuirass is a tabard, a most important ornament of knightly equipment. In modern times this has been painted white and flowered with a red pattern ; but it is more probable that originally this heraldic coat, reaching below the skirt of the taces, would be charged with the wearer's armorial bearings. It has short sleeves on which the arms would also be repeated.\* The lady is dressed in petticoat, waistcoat with attached sleeves, and gown having long open sleeves lined with fur and fastened across the breast with a band attached to two golden ornaments. The feet are encased in broad-toed shoes, the girdle has golden tassels, and round her neck are as many as five gold chains, and also a necklace with gold pendant. Her pedimental head-dress was probably made of black velvet or silk, the top stiffened to the shape of a sloping roof, the edges falling on either side, made stiff so as to stand parallel, and these may have been sewn with gold or pearls. The ends of the hood would hang down the back, but cannot be seen. This is surmounted by a stiffened material also richly sewn with jewels, and the whole pinned on to a close-fitting cap of a different colour, the edges of which show above the forehead. At the bottom of the head-dress on the left side hangs a gold ornament with a Cupid upon it. On the east wall, above the tomb, is a small bas-relief bearing the date 1537. The knight and the lady are depicted as kneeling at a prayer desk with their children behind them, while above is represented St. George slaying the dragon, the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Child, and our Saviour in the clouds.

In the church of St. Mary the Virgin at Slyndon, Sussex, is the effigy of a knight which is assigned to Sir Anthony Kempe. The armour is plate, and a good example of that worn in the middle of the Tudor period. The vambraces are fluted, the cuisses are channelled, and the feet are encased in sabatons. The knight has neither spurs nor sword.

The beautiful wooden monument at Worsborough, Yorkshire, gives some faint conception of what the splendid tomb to the memory of three of the family of Games of Aberbrain and their three wives must have presented when it was first erected in the chancel of the priory church of St. John the Evangelist at Brecon.

\* The tabard occasionally appears in the Yorkist period, but did not come into anything like general use until the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. It is rarely found later than the sixteenth century.



At Worsborough there are only two tiers, with one figure on each bed, but at Brecon there were "three tiers of oaken beds," with two effigies on each bed. This tomb must therefore have been truly magnificent in its carving, gilding, and colour, rising to a height of at least 10 or 12 feet.

Churchyard visited Brecon in 1587, and in his rhyming description says that on this monument

Three couple lies one ore the other's head  
Along in tombe and all one race and lynce

\* \* \* \*

These are indeede the auncient race of Gams  
A house and blood that long rich armes doth give  
And now in Wales are many of their names  
That keepe great trayne and doth full bravely live.

Fifty-eight years (1645) after Churchyard had written these lines, Richard Symonds, a captain in King Charles the First's army, visited Brecon and mentioned this tomb in his Diary,\* and about forty years later Thomas Dineley gives a sad description of the complete destruction of five of the effigies. He records that in the chancel "is seen a Wooden Monument w<sup>th</sup> as wooden Rimes about it in old English Character, there is but one large figure left thereon the rest was sayd to be burn by y<sup>e</sup> Usurpers souldiers, it belonged to a good Family of GAMES'S of Aberbrain."<sup>b</sup>

It was not until the early part of the nineteenth century that the monument was removed, and it is a lasting disgrace that a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries should say: "Only one female figure remained when this vile incumbrance was removed; the rest . . . were burnt by the commonwealth soldiers; much as I deplore the outrages they committed, I have often lamented, while it continued, that they did not destroy the whole of it. Lord Camden has, however, with great propriety, lately caused it to be taken down, and the chancel decently and uniformly painted."<sup>c</sup>

\* *Diary of Richard Symonds*, published by the Camden Society in 1859. Original MS. 17062 British Museum. He mentions that the armorial bearings on the tomb were "a chevron between 3 spear's heads, crest, a wreath, a wyvern, gules." These were the arms of the family of Games of Aberbrain.

<sup>b</sup> *The Progress of the Duke of Beaufort through Wales in 1684*, by Thomas Dineley. Copied from the original MS. at Badminton (London, 1888), 210.

<sup>c</sup> Theophilus Jones, *History of the County of Brecknock* (Brecknock, 1809), ii. part i. 41.

The one figure remaining is the effigy of a lady of about the year 1555, dressed in gown, tight sleeves, petticoat, and elaborately plaited super-tunic, tied round the waist with a scarf. A French hood, single ruffs round the neck and the wrists, and a pomander is hung from the waist by a long chain. This is the age of heavy chains, and two adorn the neck of the lady. Her arms and face are mutilated, and her effigy is the only fragment remaining of a splendid wooden monument which once occupied a prominent position in one of the most stately churches in the principality of Wales.

Queen Elizabeth had been reigning two years (1560) when the splendid wooden monument was erected at Staindrop, county Durham, to Henry Neville, fifth Earl of Westmorland, and his two wives.\* The east end of the tomb was divided into three compartments filled with heraldic shields, the west end was similar, but is now destroyed. The two sides contain kneeling figures of the eight sons and daughters of the earl, and are valuable examples of the costume of children in the reign of Queen Bess. One boy is in tunic and hose, and the others in long gowns with wide collars, single ruffs, and hair worn long. The girls are all dressed in gowns open at the neck, loose girdles tied in knots in front, super-tunics with wide hanging sleeves, and French caps. The earl is exhibited in a suit of armour of the early years of Queen Elizabeth. The cuirass is long-waisted, the pauldrons are replaced by shoulder-pieces, the skirt of taces has not yet disappeared, and they end in a series of narrow fluted and pointed pendent plates  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. Beneath these plates can be seen the skirt of mail. The knee-cops and elbow-cops are adorned with human faces having their tongues exposed. The gorget is decorated with Tudor roses, and round the neck is a gold chain with a George. The head is bare, resting on a crest, a bull's head; the hair is now worn short, the moustaches are drooping, and the beard is divided into two points. The ladies are dressed in gowns plaited from the waist, and V-shaped in front so as to show the petticoat beneath with its ornamented border. The sleeves are highly ornamental, and were doubtless attached to the gown, and both ladies wear French caps adorned with Tudor roses, gold chains with pendants encircle their necks, and small ruffs are round their necks and wrists.

\* The earl married three times; and these effigies represent Jane and Margaret, being his second and third wives. They were the daughters of Sir Roger Cholmeley, and the first lady was the widow of Sir Henry Gascoigne. Queen Elizabeth was furious at the earl marrying his deceased wife's sister, and he was tried before the Bishop of Durham and the Archbishop of York, as Metropolitan, in the Ecclesiastical Court, but he died before the case was concluded.



On a brick tomb at Boxted, Suffolk, protected by spiked railings, repose the effigies of William Poley and his wife, Alice Shaa. The lady died in 1579 and her husband eight years later (1587). He is exhibited in plate armour, and buckled immediately to his cuirass are tassets, the legitimate development of the tnilles, but consisting of several plates. These hang over the trunk breeches, which are embroidered. The sollerets are round-toed, the sword-belt is ornamented, the uncovered head rests on a tilting-helmet, the curly hair is worn short, the beard is pointed in the form known as the *pique devant* style, the moustaches are particularly long and drooping, and the unknightly appendages of ruffs encircle the neck and wrists. The lady wears a gown high in the neck and divided in front to show the petticoat. Ruffs are worn round the neck and wrists, and from the girdle is suspended a Prayer Book, the back of which is carved with a lozenge containing the Poley impaling the Shaa arms. The head is in a jewelled French cap, and as this was the age of gold chains, we find three encircling the neck, and narrow chain bracelets are also worn round the wrists.

It is conjectured that the effigy at Thruxton, Hampshire, is to Lady Elizabeth Phillpotts. She wears a tight-fitting French cap made of linen with a horse-shoe-shaped front, and a short huppet or veil hanging down behind. The outer gown is straight, without waistband or girdle, and is open in front showing the petticoat. It is, however, long waisted, and has a straight and formal stomacher with an invected edging. The sleeves are tight, and a farthingale puffs out the petticoat over the hips; the bodice is square at the neck and there is a ruff. The hands are broken, and there were doubtless also ruffs at the wrists.

We now approach the closing years of the sixteenth century, and in the chancel of St. Giles's church, Durham, we find the wooden figure of John Heath of Kepier, who died in 1590. This effigy is truly wooden in every sense of the word. We know not what it looked like before it suffered restoration in 1843, but now we are at once reminded of Don Quixote when we behold it. The figure is represented in plate armour; at the bottom of the cuirass is an escalloped edging of three borders, round the neck is a gorget of plate, a collar with narrow slits in it and a ruff, the head is uncovered and rests on a tilting helmet surmounted by a crest of a cock's head attached to a wreath, the twisted hilt of the sword has a round pommel and is suspended by a strap over the right shoulder, the feet are in sollerets and rest against a scroll enfolding two death's heads. On the upper part of this scroll are the words *HODIE MICHI*, and in the lower part *CRAS TIBI*.

In the Oglander chapel in St. Mary's church, Brading, Isle of Wight, are three wooden effigies. The one on the south side is that of Sir William Oglander, knight, who died in 1608. From the will of his son, Sir John Oglander, dated 10th November, 1640, we find that this effigy was at that date at Nunowell. It is a fine work of art, and was carved at Newport for the sum of £33. It is fully coloured, and represents Sir William Oglander in plate armour of the period of James I. On the north side of the chapel is the effigy of his son, Sir John Oglander, knight, the author of the famous Oglander Manuscript Memoirs. He is represented in plate armour of an earlier period with a shield and helmet of a later date. He lies on his right side, with crossed legs and resting his head on his right hand, suggesting a comparison with the attitude of the wooden effigy probably of John Wych, now in Chew Magna church, Somerset. It has been conjectured that possibly Sir John restored for his own use some earlier effigy and added to it a shield and helmet of a later date. However, it possesses little merit in execution; the legs are clumsy and the right arm is sadly out of proportion. In 1640 this effigy was already prepared, and Sir John mentions it in his will, stating that it is in the Oglander Chapel. There is no doubt that Sir John was so highly pleased with this figure that he left instructions to his executor to prepare a diminutive reproduction for his only son George, who died of small-pox contracted at Caen in Normandy during a tour he took after his coming of age. This small effigy is only 1 foot 9 inches long, and is placed in a recess above the tomb of his father in the north wall of the Oglander chapel. It is similar in every detail to the large figure on the altar tomb beneath it with the exception that the face is that of a young man without moustaches, that the feet are not armed with spurs, and that the sword is bent near the point.

Whether wooden effigies were largely employed in other countries we do not know. That erudite scholar, the late Hefner von Alteneck, in a letter to Mr. Albert Hartshorne, remarks that there is not one now existing in Germany. This statement must be received with some degree of reserve, as there is a wooden effigy to an ecclesiastic at Hildesheim, and there are possibly others. It is probable that there are also some in Italy. In Burgos cathedral church in Spain there is a wooden effigy of an English ecclesiastic, and it is possible that it was made in England and sent out to that country. In Ireland there may be a few. There is a wooden figure of an ecclesiastic in Eucharistic vestments within a small church styled Teach Molaise, on Tory Island, county Donegal, which tradition ascribes to St. Molaise, and is said to be the work of the celebrated Goban Saor. Whether this has been a monumental effigy or the figurehead of



some ill-fated ship of the Spanish Armada it is difficult to say.<sup>a</sup> However, it seems probable that our English effigies in wood are some of the finest existing in Europe, and we are thankful that the ravages of time and the relentless hand of the modern restorer have still left us some treasures which we may consider representative of a great national school of medieval handicraft. The earliest record of a wooden effigy in England is the one to Caducan, Bishop of Bangor,<sup>b</sup> who died as a monk at Abbey Dore in Herefordshire in 1225. In France there appear to have been wooden effigies at a still earlier date, and the fine figure of Eleanor of Guienne, Queen of Henry II., who died in 1204, is still at Fontevrault, and is believed to be a faithful likeness.

Whether there were many effigies made of stone with heads and hands of oak is doubtful. There may have been a few, and at Towcester church, Northamptonshire, is an effigy to Archdeacon Sponne, who died in 1448. Before this effigy was needlessly and mischievously "restored" the hands and feet were of wood and the rest of the effigy in stone.<sup>c</sup> Variety of material was sometimes used, and this we know was no uncommon practice on the Continent.

<sup>a</sup> See *Programme of Excursion*, June 21-29, 1904, *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, p. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Gough, ii. civ.

<sup>c</sup> Albert Hartshorne, *Portraiture in Recumbent Effigies*, 35.

## TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
BERKSHIRE. Barkham (St. James). In a recess in the east wall of a modern porch.	? Anne, dau. and heiress of Thomas Nevill, married Gilbert, son of Robert Bullock, living 1336.	Hands in prayer, face and feet destroyed, in loose gown with tight sleeves, mantle, wimple, and veil falling to shoulders. Very good work. Head on two cushions. Length: 5 ft. 1 in. (feet cut away).	<i>Notes &amp; Queries</i> , 1st S. viii. 255; <i>Memoirs of Bullock Family</i> , 10, 11; <i>Berks, Bucks, and Oxon. Arch. Journ.</i> v. 81.
Burghfield (St. Mary). In the old church in north side of chancel, and in new church in vestibule.	Unknown knight.	Left side cut away. In mail hauberk and hose and coif of mail over which is a head-piece. Gambeson shows 2 inches below hauberk. Surcoat long and girdle hidden beneath. Left leg crossed over right. Only handle of sword remains. Head on one cushion supported by angels (one destroyed); feet on lion. Excellent work. Length: 6 ft. 6 ins.	Ashmole's <i>Antiqs. of Berks.</i> i. 29; Gough, i. xcix.; Lysons's <i>Mag. Brit.</i> i. 210; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 1st S. viii. 255.
Englefield (St. Mark). In obtuse wall recess in south aisle.	A lady of the En- glefield family, c. 1340.	Hands in prayer; figure well preserved. In long gown with tight-fitting sleeves, mantle gathered in plaits at neck, over which is collar (2½ ins.), wimple under linen coif, veil falling to shoulders. Head on low cushion; no support for feet. Length: 6 ft. 4 ins.	Ashmole's <i>Antiqs. of Berks.</i> i. 16; Lysons's <i>Mag. Brit.</i> i. 209; Gough, i. xcvi.; Hollis (illustrated).
Sparsholt (Holy Cross). On modern altar tomb at west end of Hippis- ley Chapel.*	? Sir Robert Achard.	Hands, arms from elbow, and ends of feet destroyed. In conical bascinet with camail, jupon, shirt of mail, brassards, articulated shoulder-pieces, elbow-cops, thigh-pieces, knee-cops, jambs, sollerets, spurs (destroyed) and straps, belt (2 ins.). Head on helmet with mutil- ated crest; feet on lion. Length: 6 ft. 10 ins.	Leland's <i>Itinerary of Berks.</i> ; Hollis (illus- trated); Gough, i. xcviii.; Lysons's <i>Mag. Brit.</i> i. 209; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 1st S. viii. 255; Clark's <i>Hun- dred of Wanting</i> , 176; Ashmole's <i>Ant. of Berks.</i> i. 206; <i>Berks, Bucks, and Oxon. Arch. Journ.</i> Oct. 1905; <i>Port- folio</i> (1893), 207; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> lxi. Lady Achard (illus- trated), pl. xxiii.

\* Ashmole (1719) says it was "a raised monument of wood." Leland says it stood in the middle of the chapel and the knight lay between his two wives.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
BERKSHIRE. Sparsholt (Holy Cross). In recess in south wall of Hippis- ley Chapel.	? Joan, first wife of Sir Robert Achard, 1336.	Hands in prayer. In long gown with tight- fitting sleeves, mantle, wimple, and veil falling to shoulders. Good workman- ship and well preserved. Head on two cushions; the top one supported by two angels; two plump pet dogs at feet. Length: 6 ft. 1 in.	See references to Sparsholt (Holy Cross) on previous page.
Sparsholt (Holy Cross). In recess of south wall of Hippis- ley Chapel.	? Agnes, second wife of Sir Robert Achard.	Hands in prayer. In long gown with tight- fitting sleeves, mantle, plaited wimple, and close-fitting coif, and veil falling in elegant folds 10 inches below chin. Excellent figure, well preserved. Head on two cushions, the top supported by two angels with mutilated wings; dog at feet. Length: 6 ft.	See above.
BRECKNOCK- SHIRE. Brecon (Priory Church).	Reginald Breos, Lord of Brecon.	Destroyed. Richard Symonds says (1645) "there is the body of a man, cross legged, a shield on his left arm, very old and decayed." Churchyard mentions the figure in 1587, but Major Davis in middle of last cen- tury speaks of fragments being used by the washerwomen of Brecon.	Richard Symond's <i>Di- ary</i> , 1645; Church- yard (1587); Jones's <i>Brecknock</i> , i. 128, ii. 34, 59; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75, xxxiii. 250; <i>Progress of the Duke of Beau- fort through Wales</i> , by Thomas Dineley, 1684; Poole's <i>Breck- nock</i> .
Brecon (Priory Church).	John Games of Aberbrân.	Destroyed.	See above.
Brecon (Priory Church).	Ann, first wife of John Games of Aberbrân and dau. of Sir Wil- liam Vaughan.	Destroyed.	See above.
Brecon (Priory Church).	William Games.	Destroyed.	See above.
Brecon (Priory Church).	Second wife of William Games, dau. of ——— Bodenham of Rotherwas.	Destroyed.	See above.

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>BRECKNOCK-SHIRE.</b> Brecon (Priory Church).	Thomas Games.	Destroyed.	See references to Brecon (Priory Church) on previous page.
Brecon (Priory Church). Under west arch between nave and south aisle. <sup>a</sup>	? Elinor, wife of Thomas Games, dau. of John Morgan of Pen-y-crug, near Brecon.	Hands in prayer; face and middle portion of arms mutilated. In gown with tight sleeves and single ruffs at neck and wrists. Petticoat stiff in front, super-tunic open in front to shoulders, plaited, and fastened by scarf. Long chain, 2 ft. 7 ins. from waist-band ending in pomander. Head in close-fitting French hood; two gold chains round neck. Two cushions under head. Length: 5 ft. 6 ins.	See above.
<b>BUCKINGHAM-SHIRE.</b> Clifton Reynes (St. Matthew). In recess in north wall of Reynes Chapel, but not on original tomb.	? Sir Ralph Reynes, 1310. This effigy was long attributed to Sir Simon Borard, but he died in 1267.	In mail coif with fillet, hauberk showing gambeson beneath, mail hose, short surcoat to knees caught up over belt, knee-cops, spurs (gone) and straps. Sword in plain belt hanging obliquely from right hip and fastened in front with plain buckle. Right hand sheathing sword, left holding scabbard. Right leg crossed over left. Moustaches. Dog at feet, and two low cushions under head. Figure in good preservation. Length: 5 ft.	Lysons's <i>Mag. Brit.</i> 490; Lipscomb, iv. 120; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 1st S. viii. 455; <i>MS. Hist. of Clifton Reynes</i> , by Rev. Edward Cooke (1821); <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xi. 149 (illustrated); <i>Bucks. Arch. Soc.</i> vi. 399; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 6th S. ix. 11; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 207.
Clifton Reynes (St. Matthew). In recess in north wall of Reynes Chapel, but not on original tomb.	? Wife of Sir Ralph Reynes. Either Annabel, daughter of Sir Henry Green of Broughton (first wife), or Annabel, daughter of Sir Richard Chamberlain of Petso Manor (second wife).	Hands in prayer and feet in somewhat pointed shoes. In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, and long sleeveless super-tunic, wimple, and long veil falling to shoulders. Dog at feet and two low cushions under head. Figure well preserved. Length: 4 ft. 10 ins.	See above.

<sup>a</sup> The only remaining figure of a tomb of "three tiers of oaken beds," which stood in the chancel to the memory of John, William, and Thomas Games of Aberbrin. The parliamentary soldiers destroyed all the figures except this one. Tomb removed in early years of nineteenth century.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>BUCKINGHAM-SHIRE.</b> Clifton Reynes (St. Matthew). On altar tomb under the western of the two arches separating chancel from Reynes Chapel. <sup>a</sup>	? Knight of the Reynes family, c. 1325.	In mail coif with skull cap under, hanberk showing gambeson, mail hose, short sleeveless surcoat with an embattled border, knee-cops, but no spurs or straps. Indication of broad sword belt, but sword lost. Right leg crossed over left. Right hand broken, doubtless sheathing sword; right arm holds semi-cylindrical heater-shaped shield (1 ft. 7 ins. by 1 ft. 1½ in.) Face clean shaven. Figure in good preservation. Length: 5 ft. 5 ins.	See references to Clifton Reynes (St. Matthew) on previous page.
Clifton Reynes (St. Matthew). On altar tomb under the western of the two arches separating chancel from Reynes Chapel. <sup>a</sup>	? Wife of the above knight, c. 1325.	Feet small, hands in prayer. In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, sleeveless super-tunic without girdle, cut low at neck, wimple, veil falling to shoulders with fillet encircling temples and another passing from forehead over the crown. Dog (mutilated) at feet, two low cushions under head. Figure well preserved. Length: 5 ft. 6 ins.	See above.
<b>CAMBRIDGE-SHIRE.</b> Hildersham (Holy Trinity). Under arch between chancel and south chapel (now organ chamber) on modern tomb.	Lysons conjectured this effigy was that of Sir Thomas Busteler; but he died 1370, and this figure is of an earlier date.	In mail hauberk and hose, mail coif, knee-cops, straps and spurs (pricks gone), sleeveless surcoat to below knees fastened with girdle. Right leg crossed over left; right hand sheaths sword, left held scabbard. Sword-belt 2 ins. but sword broken. Only one foot remains. Lion at feet; two low cushions under head. Figure repaired. Length: 6 ft.	Lysons's <i>Mag. Brit.</i> ii. 211; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 1st S. viii. 255; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 207; Kerrich <i>Col. Brit. Mus. drawings</i> , 6730, pp. 27, 28.
Hildersham (Holy Trinity). On wooden altar tomb in priest's vestry.	? Wife of the above knight.	Hands in prayer. In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, long super-tunic to feet, mantle, wimple, and long veil falling to shoulders with narrow fillet round forehead. Dog at feet; two low cushions under head. Board and portions of figure repaired. Length: 5 ft. 10 ins.	See above.

<sup>a</sup> This tomb, decorated with shields of arms, may not belong to these effigies, as fragments of an altar tomb were found in the middle of the Reynes Chapel.

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>CUMBERLAND.</b> Millom (Holy Trinity). On stone tomb at east end of south aisle.	? Knight of the Huddleston family, whose ancient strong- hold is near the church.	The lower portion of this figure only remains. Legs straight and encased in thigh-pieces, jambs, and knee-cops, mutilated feet in sollerets. The body is in a jupon with belt (2 ins.). Mutilated lion? at feet. Length of fragment, 4 ft. 4 ins. This fragment was found near to the walled-up west door.	Lysons's <i>Mag. Brit.</i> iv. cxvii.; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 6th S. viii. 118.
Ousby (St. Luke). On floor of chan- cel against north wall.	Knight, possibly of either the Falcord or Arm- strong families, as the manor of Ousby was divided into moieties between these families in the reign of Henry III., c. 1310 to 1320.	In hauberk showing slits at sides and gambeson beneath (4 ins.), mail hose, spurs and straps (pricks gone). Ca- mail laced to bascinet through loops decorated with lozenges. Surcoat to below knees fastened with girdle. Narrow sword-belt (1 in.) to which sword was suspended (fragment 1 foot). Left arm lost, right arm broken at wrist. No shield, but strap passes over right shoulder. Mail on hauberk not set out regularly, but the artist has shown the hose in mail which is regular and in parallel lines. This fine effigy resem- bles the knight at Whorlton, Sir John Hastings at Abergavenny, and the third Danbury knight. Length: 6 ft. 8 ins.	Gough, ii. cx.; Lysons's <i>Mag. Brit.</i> iv. cxvii.; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 1st S. viii. 97; Jefferson's <i>Hist.</i> of <i>Leath Ward</i> , 253; Burn, ii. 41; Dugd. <i>Bar.</i> i. 566; <i>Trans.</i> <i>Cumberland and</i> <i>Westmorland Ant.</i> <i>Soc.</i> viii.
St. Bees.	Anthony, the last Lord Lucey of Egremont. Died 1368.	Destroyed. Formerly on south side of the nave. [Hutchinson (1794) says that "the figure is represented in a coat of mail with elevated hands"; Jefferson (1842) speaks of the figure being made of wood and in armour. Bures describes the effigy as being 6 ft. in length. It disappeared during the first half of the 19th century.]	Gough, ii. cx.; Hut- chinson's <i>Hist. of</i> <i>Cumberland</i> , ii. 41; Nicholson and Burns, 41; Lysons, cxvii.; Jefferson's <i>Allendale Ward</i> , 349.
<b>DERBYSHIRE.</b> Derby (All Saints). At east end of north aisle of chancel.	Conjectured to be Robert John- son, sub-dean of this collegiate church as late as 1527. He was a great benefactor to the church.	Secular canon vested in cassock, surplice, almuce and cope. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope points out that "it shows most admirably the tails forming the fringe of the tippet of the furred almuce, and those on the pendants in front. The addition of a cope is an uncommon feature." Hands in prayer, hair long, falling below ears, and feet in broad- toed shoes. At feet collared hound (conjectural restoration); head on two cushions supported by two reclining angels. South side of tomb has the original carving containing thirteen bede-folk carved in high relief beneath singular pointed canopies supported on twisted shafts. Length: 5 ft. 8½ ins.	Bassano, a heraldic painter described this tomb in 1710 (MS. College of Arms); Glover's <i>Hist. of Derby</i> , ii. pt. i. 495; <i>Proc. Soc.</i> <i>Ant.</i> 2nd S. x. 65 (illustrated); <i>Derby-</i> <i>shire Arch. and Nat.</i> <i>Hist. Soc.</i> (Paper on this effigy by Mr. Hope) illustrated Plate xvii. (figure), Plate xvii. (front of carved oak tomb). viii. 183-189; <i>Port-</i> <i>folio</i> (1893), 207.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
DERBYSHIRE. Derby (All Saints).	In a recess under above tomb.	Cadaver which has lost one-third of original length, in shroud covering head, but leaving face visible. Girdle round waist. Length: 2 ft. 10 ins.	See references to Derby (All Saints) on previous page.
DEVON. Tawstock (St. Peter). In an obtuse re- cess in the north wall of the chancel.	? Thomasin, dau. of Sir Richard Hankford (died 1419) ulti- mately heir of Fulk Fitzwarren and wife of Wil- liam Bourchier, created Lord FitzWarine, through whom Tawstock be- came the pro- perty of the Bourchiers.	Hands in prayer. In kirtle with tight- fitting sleeves, long mantle caught up over arms in graceful folds, and fastened by two bands secured by jewelled studs, wimple, cover-chief edged with lace fall- ing in graceful folds to shoulders. Figure in good condition except for destruction of board and loss of lower portion of body. One oblong cushion under head. Length: 4 ft. 4 ins.	<i>Trans. Exeter Diocesan Architectural Soc.</i> vi. 192, 193 (illus- trated on Plate 22); Worth's <i>Hist. of Devon</i> , 126.
West Down (Holy Trinity). In arched recess of north wall of north transept.	Sir John Stowford, (1290? - 1372?). King's serjeant in 1340, judge of Court of Com- mon Pleas, 1342 until 1372, ex- cept for one month, when (Nov. 1345) Chief Baron of Exchequer. See Prince's <i>Wor- thies of Devon</i> , 559; Dugdale's <i>Origin</i> , 45; <i>Dic. Nat. Biog.</i> lv. 8; Foss's <i>Judges of England</i> .	In cassock, sleeveless upper gown, tippet pleated at shoulders, and hood falling forward on neck, head mutilated, but doubtless in coif; features quite dis- figured. Hands in prayer. Head on one cushion. Length: 6 ft. 2 ins.	<i>Lyttons's Mag. Brit.</i> v. cccxxxiii.; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75.
West Down (Holy Trinity).	Dame Joan, co- heirress of Tracys of Woolcombe, and wife of Sir John Stowford, or Stanford. She and her hus- band held lands at South Pether- ton and Drayton, Somerset.	Destroyed.	See above.

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
DURHAM. Anckland (St. Andrew). North-west corner of nave on modern stone tomb.	? Knight of the Pollard family.	In hauberk with sleeves prolonged to form mittens, hose smooth and possibly painted to indicate plate or leather, bascinet with camail attached showing lacings, spurs (pricks gone) and straps, knee-caps, surcoat to knees fastened with girdle, shield lost. Sword belt (2½ ins.) and sword on left side. Hands in prayer. Boar at feet; two cushions under head. Length: 7 ft 6 ins.	Hutchinson's <i>Durham</i> , iii. 330; Pennant's <i>Tour in Scotland</i> , iii. 314; <i>Arch. Jour.</i> xviii. 74; Boyle's <i>Guide to Durham</i> , 504; <i>Archæologia Æliana</i> , xx. 171.
Brancepeth (St. Brandon). Middle of chancel.*	Ralph Neville, 2nd Earl of Westmorland, son of John, eldest son of 1st Earl. He died 1484. His only son perished in battle of St. Albans, 1455. See <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i> xl. 277.	In complete plate armour, beneath jupon with scalloped edge, hands in prayer, slightly ornamented girdle, sword (only hilt remains) slung by transverse belt, collar of roses <i>en soleil</i> with boar pendant, visored salade with chin-piece. At feet dog with collar, and two desks with kneeling figures (destroyed). Head on helm with bull's head crest supported by three mutilated figures. Good work, and figures of both earl and countess fairly well preserved. Length: 6 ft. 3 ins.	Leland's <i>Itin.</i> i. 80; Hutchinson's <i>Hist. of Durham</i> , iii. 314; Boyle's <i>Guide to Durham</i> , 456; <i>N. and Q.</i> 1st S. ix. 111; illustrated in Billings's <i>Antiqs. of Durham</i> ; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 207 (illustrated); Stothard's <i>Monumental Effigies</i> (illustrated), plates 134, 135; <i>Arch. Jour.</i> lv. 119.
Brancepeth (St. Brandon).	Margaret, Countess of Westmorland, 2nd wife of Ralph Neville, 2nd Earl of Westmorland, dau. of Reginald, Lord Cobham.	Hands in prayer. In kirtle low in front with tight-fitting mitten sleeves, sleeveless surcoat with deep facings most likely of fur, girdle of suns and roses alternately, long mantle fastened by cords attached to ornaments, collar round neck of roses <i>en soleil</i> (only five perfect) with lozenge-shaped pendant, head supported by two cushions, steeple head-dress (8 ins. high) and veil (1 ft. 10 ins.) held up by three figures (mutilated). At feet are two small dogs, also desks and figures (destroyed) similar to those at feet of the Earl's effigy. Length: 6 ft. 3 ins.	See above.

\* This tomb has been cut down so that the entablature rests on the base. This was done before Leland saw it.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
DURHAM. Durham (St. Giles). South side of chancel on modern wooden tomb.	John Heath of Kepier. The family of Heath acquired the es- tates of Kepier late in sixteenth century, and re- sided in house within precincts of dissolved hos- pital. John Heath and Ber- nard Gilpin founded the Kepier School at Houghton-le- Spring. Died 1590, and buried in chancel of St. Giles's, Durham.	In pigeon-shaped breast and back plates with scalloped edging of three borders at bottom, gorget of plate having collar with slits and single ruff, shoulder-pieces, brassarts, elbow-cops, vambraces, gaunt- lets (hands in prayer), thigh-pieces, knee-cops, jainbs, sollerets, rowel spurs, sword with twisted hilt suspended by strap over right shoulder, head un- covered, moustaches drooping, beard short and pointed, nose flattened, face long. Figure suffered much in restora- tion made in 1843. Head on tilting helmet with crest of cock's head at- tached by a wreath. Feet on scroll (HODIE MICH above, CRAS TIBI below) enfolding two death's heads (6 ins. long). Length: 5 ft.	Fordyce's <i>Hist. of Dur-</i> <i>ham</i> , 377; <i>Memorials</i> <i>of St. Giles, Dur-</i> <i>ham</i> , Surtees Soc. xcv. (1895); Hutch- inson's <i>Hist. of Dur-</i> <i>ham</i> , ii. 303; Boyle's <i>Guide to Durham</i> , 383; <i>N. and Q.</i> 1st S. viii. 180; <i>Some</i> <i>Minor Arts</i> , 66; <i>Port</i> <i>folio</i> (1893), 207.
Greatham Hos- pital.	? Andrew Stanley, first master of Greatham Hos- pital. The char- ter of endow- ment bears the date 1272.	Destroyed. [Gough, ii. cx. says there then existed a wooden effigy of a priest in "habit of secular clergyman," cap, and end of staff between feet, head on cushion, dog at feet. Figure much defaced, resting "under an arch probably coeval with the original building." Hutchinson in 1794 also refers to this effigy.]	Gough, ii. cx.; <i>Gent.</i> <i>Mag.</i> 1788 (illus- trated), 1046, also 1798, 591; Hut- chinson's <i>Hist. of</i> <i>Durham</i> , iii. 91.
Staindrop (St. Mary). South-west corner of south aisle.	Henry Neville, 5th Earl of Westmorland, born 1525 and succeeded to title 1550. In 1557 appointed general of horse for northern army. At time of death (1564) he was being tried in the ec- clesiastical court for marrying his deceased wife's sister. See <i>Dict.</i> <i>Nat. Biog.</i> xl. 279; <i>Trans. Dur-</i> <i>ham Arch. Soc.</i> iv. 224.	In complete plate armour, gauntlets (hands in prayer), narrow sword-belt (sword lost) suspended on left by three straps, plate gorget adorned with roses. Gold chain with George. Head uncovered, short curls, drooping moustaches, beard divided in two points. Figure well carved is placed between two wives on wooden monument, east end adorned with armorial bearings, west end lost, kneeling figures of the Earl's eight children. Inscription round edge of table states that tomb was made in 1560 for the Earl and his wives Margaret (3rd wife) and Jane (2nd wife). Head on mutilated crest of bull's head; hound at feet. Length: 6 ft. 9 ins.	Gough, i. xcix.; <i>Ant.</i> <i>Repertory</i> , iii. 303 (il- lustrated); Hutch- inson's <i>Hist. of Dur-</i> <i>ham</i> , iii. 261; Boyle's <i>Guide to Durham</i> , 708; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 207; <i>Trans.</i> <i>Durham Arch. Soc.</i> iv. 224.

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
DURHAM. Staindrop (St. Mary).	Jane, Countess of Westmorland, 2nd wife of Henry Neville, 5th Earl of Westmorland, daughter of Sir Roger Cholmeley.	Hands in prayer. In gown or super-tunic plaited from waist and open V-shape to show stiff petticoat with ornamental border, sleeves slashed open, fastened with round ornaments, showing tight-fitting undersleeves, girdle with pomander hung from chain (2 ft. 8 ins.). Gold chain with pendent ornament round neck. Partlet, small ruffs at neck and wrists, French cap adorned with Tudor roses and lappet. Head on two cushions. Small dog at feet. Length: 6 ft. 4 ins.	See references in previous page.
Staindrop (St. Mary).	Margaret, Countess of Westmorland, 3rd wife of Henry Neville 5th Earl of Westmorland, widow of Sir Henry Gascoigne and sister to Earl's 2nd wife.	Hands in prayer. In gown or super-tunic plaited from waist and open V-shape to show stiff petticoat with ornamental border, tight-fitting sleeves adorned with lozenge-shaped pattern and puffs at shoulders decorated with a chevron and bands of needlework below, bodice open at neck, with lappets having edging of Tudor roses, French cap ornamented with Tudor roses and long lappet behind, gold chain twice encircles neck having jewel as pendant, girdle with pomander shaped like a wheel hangs from chain (2 ft. 11 ins.). Head on two cushions; feet on two small dogs with collars. Length: 6 ft. 7 ins.	See above.
ESSEX Danbury (St. John Baptist). Recess in north wall of nave.	The three effigies at Danbury are possibly members of the St. Clere family, as they held land in this place from reign of Stephen. The oldest of the three figures was probably carved late in the thirteenth century, the other two belong to the first quarter of the fourteenth century.	In coif, hauberk, and hose of mail, long surcoat, girdle, shield-strap (shield lost), sword belt, spurs (pricks broken) and straps. Hands in mail, right sheathing sword, left on scabbard. Left leg crossed over right, and head turned to right shoulder. Head on square cushion. Feet on lion (mutilated). Work good. Length: 6 ft. 5 ins.	Weever's <i>Ancient Funeral Monuments</i> , 640; Gough, i. xviii. 32 (illustrated) Plate vii. 3 and 4 (drawings by Mr. Tyson). N. & Q. 1st S. vii. 607; Weale's <i>Architectural Papers</i> ; Morant's <i>Essex</i> , ii. 30; Durrant's <i>Essex</i> , 89; Chancellor's <i>Monuments of Essex</i> (illustrated) Plates xxxiii. and xxxiv.; Suckling's <i>Essex</i> (illustrated); <i>Hist. of Essex</i> , by a Gentleman, i. 188; Strutt (illustrated), i. xlx. and xlvi.; <i>Gent. Mag.</i> lix. 337, 338; iv. 102; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 207.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
ESSEX. Danbury (St. John Baptist). Wall recess in north aisle of nave.	See preceding page.	In mail coif, hauberk, and hose, long surcoat, girdle, shield-strap (shield lost), sword belt, spurs (broken) and straps. Hands in mail, right sheathing cross-handled sword and left on scabbard. Left leg crossed over right. Snake coiled round point of sword. Head on square cushion and turned to right shoulder. Feet on lion. Work good. Length: 6 ft. 8 ins.	See references in previous page.
Danbury (St. John Baptist). In wall recess in south aisle of nave. Wall re- built in 1776 when original tomb was destroyed.	See above.	In coif of mail with fillet round temples, hauberk, mail hose, long surcoat, girdle, shield-strap (shield lost), sword-belt (3 ins.), cross handled sword (hilt broken) on left side (2 ft. 10 ins.), spurs (pricks gone) and straps. Hands in prayer, left leg crossed over right, head turned to left shoulder. Good work. Length: 6 ft. 6 ins.	See above.
Earl's Colne (St. Andrew).	? An Earl of Oxford. Too late for Hugh de Vere, who died 1263. The effigy of Robert, 5th Earl, is supposed to be one now in the cloister. It may be his son Robert who was buried in the Priory.	Destroyed, according to Gough, in 1736. [Gough gives an illustration of this effigy, from drawing by Daniel King (1653), in coif of mail with ornamented fillet, hauberk, mail hose, long surcoat, sword belt with sword on left side, hands in prayer, right leg crossed over left. Dog at feet; head on cushion supported by two angels. Morant speaks of three cross-legged effigies at Earl's Colne existing in 1768. See Morant's <i>Essex</i> , ii. 213.]	Weever, 614; Gough, i. (illustrations of Earland Countess); Chancellor's <i>Monuments of Essex</i> ; <i>Hist. of Essex</i> , by a Gentleman (1772), vi. 199; Morant's <i>Essex</i> , ii. 213; Wright's <i>Essex</i> , i. 424.
Earl's Colne (St. Andrew).	? A Countess of Oxford.	Destroyed, according to Gough, in 1736. [Gough's illustration from Daniel King's drawing (1653) shows the lady in wimple, veil with ornamented fillet round temples, kirtle, tight sleeves, mantle fastened with cords ending in tassels, chain round neck. Hands in prayer, bear at feet, and head on one cushion. Weever mentions this effigy in 1631; but Morant does not speak of it.]	See above.

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
ESSEX. Earl's Colne (St. Andrew).	? Some member of the De Vere family.	Destroyed. [This was a cross-legged effigy with hound at feet. See Weever, 614; Morant's <i>Essex</i> , ii. 213.]	See references in pre- vious page.
Earl's Colne (St. Andrew).	? Some member of the De Vere family.	Destroyed. [A cross-legged effigy which Weever says is "quite broken away from his target," and Morant speaks of all three as "much broken and defaced." These effigies were originally in the priory church; but at the suppression were removed to the parish church of St. Andrew.]	See above.
Elmstead (St. Laurence and St. Anne). Ledge of east window of south chapel.	? Some member of Tony family (1310-1315). Family held manor from 1250 to 1317. Mr. Henry La- ver, F.S.A., con- jectures it to be the effigy of Laurence Tony, 1317.	In helm over coif of mail, hauberk, plates on arms, elbow-cops (with small articula- tions), surcoat, belt, spurs (pricks damaged) and straps, sword belt (2½ ins.) shows holes for buckling and holds scabbard (3 ft.). Right arm across breast (hand broken), possibly sheathing sword. Right leg crossed over left. Knight laid on shield (2 ft. by 1 ft. 2 ins.). Transitional figure (1310-1315) between the simple mail hood and bascinet with attached camail. Head on lion; feet on lap of mutilated figure of civilian in long gown and hood, of which long folds hang down behind (upper portion des- troyed). Length: 6 ft. 11 ins.	Morant's <i>Essex</i> , i. 445; <i>Hist. of Essex</i> , by a Gentleman (1772), vi. 7; Wright's <i>Es- sex</i> , ii. 760; <i>Arch. Jour.</i> xviii. 74; Durrant's <i>Essex</i> , 98; Chancellor's <i>Monu- ments of Essex</i> (illus- trated) Plate cxxi.; <i>Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.</i> x. part 3 (Elm- stead Church).
Little Baddow (St. Mary). Original wall re- cess in south wall of south aisle.	Unknown frank- lin.	In under gown or cassock with tight-fitting sleeves fastened with eighteen buttons, outer gown with wide sleeves to elbow, hair in long curls to neck, face clean shaven, and hands in prayer. Head on cushion, dog at feet. In poor preserva- tion; hole in lower part of arm and breast. Length: 4 ft. 11 ins.	Gough, i. clvi.; <i>Arch. Jour.</i> xviii. 74; Wright's <i>Essex</i> , i. 122; Durrant's <i>Es- sex</i> , 38; Chancellor's <i>Monuments of Essex</i> (illustrated) Plate cxxv.; <i>Hist. of Es- sex</i> , by a Gentleman, i. 172.
Little Baddow (St. Mary). Original wall re- cess in south wall of south aisle.	Unknown lady. Probably the wife of the above franklin.	In wimple, long veil with fillet round temples, kirtle, tight sleeves fastened with twenty-four buttons, super-tunic with wide open sleeves, and hands in prayer. Head on two cushions; dog at feet. Figure in poor preservation. Length: 5 ft. 3 ins.	See above.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>ESSEX.</b> Little Horkesley (St. Peter and St. Paul). West end of south chapel, on modern wooden tomb.	Lady (1290-1300). Possibly wife of Sir William Horkesley, died 1296.	In wimple, long veil with fillet round temples, kirtle, super-tunic, short mantle to just above knees and caught up over elbows, hands (destroyed) in prayer. Small dog at each foot, tail to tail; cushion for head, with fragments of what may have been supporting angels. Good work. Length: 7 ft. 10 ins.	Suckling's <i>Essex</i> (illustrated), 103; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> i. 70; <i>N. and Q.</i> 1st S. vii. 607; Durrant's <i>Essex</i> , 128; <i>Hist. of Essex</i> , by a Gentleman (1772), vi. 235; <i>Excursions in Essex</i> , ii. 178 (illustrated); Chancellor's <i>Monuments of Essex</i> (illustrated) Plate xxx.; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 207.
Little Horkesley (St. Peter and St. Paul). West end of south chapel.	? Knight of the Horkesley family, c. 1290.	In coif of mail with fillet round temples, hauberk, mail hose, knee-cops, ample surcoat with girdle, spurs (pricks gone) and straps, and fragment of broad sword-belt. Right leg crossed over left, hands in prayer (destroyed). The hood is concentrically ringed round the face in the early fashion, and the surcoat is open to the waist like effigy of Robert, Duke of Normandy, at Gloucester. Head on low cushion; lion at feet. Date c. 1290. This interesting effigy is in a damaged and mutilated state. Length: 7 ft. 7 ins.	See above.
Little Horkesley (St. Peter and St. Paul). (Same position as last).	? Knight of the Horkesley family, possibly Sir William Horkesley, 1296.	In coif of mail with fillet round temples, hauberk, mail hose, knee-cops, long surcoat with girdle, spurs (pricks gone) and straps, cross-handled sword (fragment 2 ft. 2 ins.) fastened to sword-belt (1½ in.) slung diagonally, having buckle in front. Hands in prayer clasping a heart, right leg crossed over left, shield on left arm (fragment 1 ft. 11 ins.). Hood concentrically ringed round face in the early fashion. Head on two low cushions; lion at feet. Length: 7 ft. 10 ins.	See above.
Little Leighs. (St. Laurence and St. Anne). In original wall recess under richly cusped ogee canopy in north wall of chancel.	Robert Kere was presented by Prior and convent of Little Lees to this living in 1333, and this may be his effigy or that of his successor, John French.	In amice (broken in front), alb, oval chasuble, stole, fringed fanon, hair worn long to neck, hands in prayer, head on low cushion supported by two mutilated angels, at feet a dog in a coat and a hare with long ears? Date c. 1350. Length: 5 ft. 6 ins.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 73; <i>Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.</i> ii. 167; Durrant's <i>Essex</i> , 144; Chancellor's <i>Monuments of Essex</i> (illustrated).

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>ESSEX.</b> Messing (All Saints). Recess in north wall.	? Sir William de Messing, found- er of the church.	Destroyed. [Cross-legged effigy of knight destroyed by parish clerk at command of the vicar about one hundred years ago.]	Gough, i. xviii.; Suckling's <i>Essex</i> , 130; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii.; Walpole (1749); <i>Hist. of</i> <i>Essex</i> by a Gentle- man (1772), vi. 149; Morant's <i>Essex</i> , ii. 178; Durrant's <i>Es-</i> <i>sex</i> , 154; Wright's <i>Essex</i> , i. 387.
<b>GLOUCESTER- SHIRE.</b> Gloucester Cathedral Church. In middle of pres- bytery before high altar.	Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, died in Cardiff Castle at the age of 80, February, 1135. (See <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i> xlviii. 349.)	In hooded hauberk reaching nearly to knees, coronet ornamented with straw- berry leaves and fleurs-de-lys fastened by strap passing through mail across forehead and down right side of face, long surcoat open up to middle, shield- strap but no trace of shield, right hand grasps handle of sword (3 ft. 4 ins.) partly sheathed, sword-belt (1½ in.) affixed to sheath, thighs and knees in padded trows, lower portion of legs in mail hose, spurs (pricks gone but iron substitutes added) and straps. Right leg crossed over left, eyes open and moustache worn. Cushion under head; no support for feet. Effigy on oblong chest of fourteenth or fifteenth century adorned with frieze of narrow pointed leaves and round flowers and ten painted shields of arms. Probable date for effigy 1280. The peculiarity of the mail on the arms is found on stone effigies at Salisbury, Wareham, Shepton Mallet, Malvern, and statues at Wells and knights at Bristol (1250 to 1280), namely those with surcoat open up to belt like this figure. In Lansdowne MS. (B. M.) 874 sketch by Lancaster Herald (1610) shows two gold lions on breast of surcoat; and Rev. T. Ker- rich's sketch (Kerrich Coll. MS. 6730, p. 21, B. M.) gives surcoat flowered with a four-leaf flower. Effigy broken in Civil War, sold to Sir Humphry Tracy of Stanway, and mended and re- placed at Restoration. Length: 5 ft. 10 ins.	Leland's <i>Itinerary</i> ; Atkyns's <i>Glos.</i> 95; Rudder's <i>Glos.</i> 126; Gough, i. xvii.; <i>Trans. Bristol and</i> <i>Glos. Arch. Soc.</i> xiii. 252, 253, xiv. 238, xxvii. 289-291; <i>Re-</i> <i> cords of Glos. Cath-</i> <i>edral</i> , i. 99, 101; Lansdowne MS. 874 (B. M.) (illustrated); Fosbrooke's <i>Glos.</i> ; Hollis; <i>Gent. Mag.</i> lix. pt. iv. 264; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 180 (illustrated); Kerrich Coll. MS. 6730, p. 21 (B. M.)



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>GLOUCESTER-SHIRE.</b> Old Sodbury (St. John Baptist). Western recess in north wall of north transept.	? Knight of the Stephens family, who were buried in the north aisle. Miss. l. M. Roper dates this effigy as 1270 ( <i>Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.</i> xxx. 136); but this is too early, it was probably carved near the close of thirteenth cen- tury.	In hanberk reaching to thighs with sleeves covering hands, coif of mail with skull cap beneath, without supporting strap round forehead being shown, mail hose, surcoat reaching below knees with girdle, no spur straps or spurs, sword belt with cross-hilted sword attached (3 ft. 1 in.), end of belt round scabbard and tag inserted in lower loop, kite- shaped shield (2 ft. 2 ins. by 1 ft. 1 in.) fastened to strap on left arm. Right leg crossed over left, right hand (mutilated) on pommel (?), left holds scabbard. Figure in poor state of preservation; right hand and arm nearly worn away, features destroyed. Length: 5 ft. 7 ins.	Rudder's <i>Glos.</i> 678 (incorrectly speaks of effigy as made of stone); Atkyns's <i>Glos.</i> 355; <i>Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.</i> xxx. 136.
<b>HAMPSHIRE.</b> Monks' Sher- borne Priory (St. Mary and St. John). Arched recess in south wall of nave (not ori- ginal tomb).	Some authorities conjecture it is effigy of Sir John de Port, knight, son of Sir Henry de Port, knight, founder of Monks' Sher- borne Priory. (See <i>Diet. Nat. Biog.</i> xlv. 163.) The date, how- ever, is too early, the effigy being c. 1310.	In mail hauberk, coif, and hose, surcoat reaching below knees, knee-cups, spurs and straps, girdle ( $\frac{1}{2}$ in.), strap ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.), but no shield, sword-belt (2 ins.) with cross-hilted sword (2 ft. 2 ins.) attached. Hands in prayer, lion at feet and two cushions under head. C. 1310. Good work; probably carved by sculptor of effigies of William Combmartin (Alderton) and John Hastings (Aber- gavenny). Length: 6 ft.	<i>Trans. Newbury Field Club</i> , iii. 118.
Throxton (Holy Rood and St. Peter and St. Paul).	? Lady Elizabeth Phillipotts. The Phillipotts held the manor of Throxton after the ladies.	In tight and plain robe, long waisted with straight and formal stomacher with in- verted edging, tight sleeves, farthingale puffs and petticoat over hips, bodice cut square at neck with ruff, tight-fitting jewelled French cap with long pendant lappets attached falling behind head. Hands destroyed. No support for feet; head on two cushions with geometrical pattern intended for lace. Figure in poor preservation. Length: 5 ft. 5 ins. Replaced in the church, having been in the Rector's barn for many years. Mr. Wm. Dale believes this effigy formerly stood where the organ is now placed.	<i>Trans. Salisbury Field Club</i> , i. 187; <i>Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.</i> 2nd S. xxii. 251.

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
ISLE OF WIGHT.			
Brading (St. Mary). On altar tomb, south side of Oglander Chapel.	Sir William Oglander, knighted 1606, married Ann, daughter of Anthony Dillington of Knighton. Died 1608. (See <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i> xlii. 34.)	In plate armour engraved with herringbone pattern, breast and back plates showing hinges, five taces, thigh-pieces, jambs, knee-cops, sollerets, rowel spurs, plate gorget, shoulder-pieces, brassarts, vambraces, and elbow-cops. Hands bare and in prayer holding heart. Head uncovered, features well sculptured, beard trimmed, moustaches slightly drooping. Sword (3 ft. 9 ins.) suspended from belt, has pommel adorned with woman's face. Figure well executed and carved at Newport (Isle of Wight) between 1625 and 1640 for £33. Length: 6 ft. 1 in.	Oglander MS.; Worsley's <i>Isle of Wight</i> , 194; Stone's <i>Architectural Ant. Isle of Wight</i> , i. 15 (illustrated); Englefield, 96; Barber's <i>Guide Isle of Wight</i> (1850), 28, 29; N. & Q. 1st S. ix. 17; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xxxiii. 242.
Brading (St. Mary). On altar tomb, north side of Oglander Chapel.	Sir John Oglander, born 1585, knighted 1615, Deputy-Governor of the Isle of Wight 1624, sat for several Parliaments. Exhibited zeal in Royalist cause and adhered to Charles I. at outbreak of Civil War. Died 1655, and portion of his valuable <i>Diary</i> was published in 1888. (See <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i> xlii. 34.)	In plate armour adorned with scroll pattern, breast and back plates, three taces with tuilles hinged to the bottom tace, thigh-pieces, jambs, knee-pieces, sollerets, rowel spurs, large engrailed shoulder-pieces, brassarts, elbow-cops, vambraces. The figure lies on right side, right hand supports head, right leg crossed over left, left hand holds hilt of cross-handed sword (3 ft. 6 ins.) with ornamented pommel, sheath suspended by strap to belt (1 in.), fastened by a locket. Hands bare, on left arm shield ( <i>à bouche</i> 1 ft. 9 ins. by 1 ft. 5 in.) charged with Oglander arms ( <i>azure a stork between three cross-croissants fitchy gold</i> ). Head in helmet with visor raised showing face with moustaches and top of beard. Figure badly executed, legs clumsy, right arm out of proportion, only measuring 7 ins. from elbow to wrist. Length: 6 ft. 2 ins.	See above.
Brading (St. Mary). In plain round-headed wall recess in north wall of Oglander Chapel above tomb of Sir John Oglander.	George Oglander, only son of Sir John Oglander, Knight, who died of small-pox at Caen, in Normandy, during a tour made on his coming of age.	This diminutive figure is an exact copy of the effigy of Sir John Oglander, except that the feet have no spurs, the sword is carved near the point, and the features are those of a young man. These three effigies were repainted about 50 years ago. Sir John Oglander's will (dated 10th November, 1649) left instructions for his executors to place the effigy of his father on south side of	See above.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
ISLE OF WIGHT. Brading (St. Mary)— <i>continued.</i>		chapel, and his own effigy on north side. This effigy was already made, and the testator was so well pleased with it that he ordered his executors to make a small replica of it for his son George. Length: 1 ft. 9 ins.	
Gatcombe (St. Olive). Round-headed recess in north wall of chancel.	If the effigy be genuine it may be a member of the Isturfamily, who owned the Manor of Gatcombe from time of Domesday to Edward II.	In mail hauberk and hose, long surcoat, girdle, shield strap (2 ins.) supports uncharged heater-shaped shield (1 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 6 ins.). Head (later restoration) in salade, right hand holds pommel of sword (fragment 1 ft. 2 ins.) which is attached to belt (1½ in.) on left side. Head on round cushion supported by two angels (one mutilated, the other with restored head and neck), animal (? otter) at feet. Figure has no merit, and it is doubtful if any portion is of great antiquity; probable that the whole work is an anachronism which may be assigned to the Jacobean period. Length: 5 ft. 11 ins.	Worsley's <i>Isle of Wight</i> , 186; Stone's <i>Architectural Ant. Isle of Wight</i> , ii. 25 (illustrated).
HEREFORD- SHIRE. Clifford (St. Mary). In recess in south wall of chancel.	? Rector of Clifford (1270-1280).	In amice, alb, chasuble (3 ft. 10 ins.), stole, and fanon. Hands in prayer, feet in pointed shoes resting on moulded pediment, head on cushion (decayed). Cut of hair and folds and length of chasuble resemble effigies of Bishop Aquablanca at Hereford (died 1268), and Bishop Bronescombe at Exeter (died 1280). The chasuble is later than those on effigies of 1225-1250, but earlier than those displaying the greater fulness and folds of 1290. Good work well preserved. Length: 5 ft. 11 ins.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75.
Much Marele (St. Bartholomew). On most easterly window ledge of north aisle.	? Sir Hugh Helyon, living 1325, joined crusade and knighted by Edward II., owned manor of Ashperton. His grand-daughter, Joan, married into Walwayn	In close-fitting tunic, over 5 feet long, buttoned in front, reaching to knees, with tight-fitting sleeves, buttoned from elbows to wrists. The hood is worn about neck and front of breast, but not drawn over head. Over hips is a girdle (1½ in.), with long pendant and small pouch buckled to it. Close-fitting hose, right leg crossed over left, shoes pointed, bare hands in prayer, face long, short	Gough ii. cxi.; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75, xxxiii. 239; <i>Trans. Woodhope Club</i> (1899), 98; <i>Antiquary</i> (1894), 140; <i>Ass. Arch. Societies</i> , xii. (1873-74); <i>Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.</i>

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>HEREFORD-SHIRE.</b> Much Marcle (S. Bartholomew) —continued.	family, and her great grandson, Thomas Walwayn (died 1414), endowed a chantry at Much Marcle; so this effigy was probably removed from Ashperton to this new chantry chapel about 1414.	beard and moustaches, hair parted in middle, falling in waves to neck; head on cushion, feet on lion with tail curled round the right foot. Excellent figure, tall, slim, and clean cut. Mr. Bloxam dates the figure 1350; Mr. Albert Hartshorne conjectures 1360. Cross-legged effigies of civilians are rare; there is one in Thurlaston church, Leicestershire, and another at Birkin, near Normanton. Length: 6 ft. 2 ins.	xviii. pl. i. (effigies of civilians) (illustrated; hood wrongly shown as drawn over the head).
Abbey Dore.	Caducan, Bishop of Bangor, who ended his days as a monk at Abbey Dore, and died 1223.	Destroyed. [Leland states effigy was made sometime after the death of the bishop. When Gough wrote in 1786 it was in good condition and only top of crosier was damaged. Since that date the effigy has disappeared.]	Leland, viii. 86 b; Gough, i. 195.
<b>HERTFORD-SHIRE.</b> Ayot St. Lawrence.	Unknown cross-legged knight in mail.	Destroyed. [Gough quotes Mr. Grose, who says that there is in this church a diminutive wooden effigy of a cross-legged knight which on account of its size was called <i>The Boy Templar</i> . This fourteenth-century church has been a ruin for 130 years.]	Gough, ii. cix.
<b>KENT.</b> Canterbury Cathedral Church. North wall of Martyrdom, on original altar tomb.	John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Archbishop Kilwardby in 1278, died 1292. See <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i> xlv. 190.	In amice, alb, stole, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble, pall, mitre, gloves, and pointed shoes. Hands in prayer. Head on two cushions; at feet a ? lion. Fine work; left hand and mitre mutilated and some portions of figure on the left side. Length: 7 ft. 4 ins. The tomb on which the effigy lies is decorated with nine niches containing figures of bishops, and stands beneath a finely carved cinquefoiled double cusped arch.	Gough, i. xcl.; Woolnoth's <i>Canterbury</i> , 85; Somner's <i>Canterbury</i> , 256; <i>Archæologia Cantiana</i> , xx. 288; <i>Canterbury Cathedral</i> , G. S. 103 (illustrated), Plate 7; Dart's <i>Canterbury Cathedral</i> , 136 (illustrated).
Goudhurst (St. Mary). Wooden table tomb (original).	Sir Alexander Culpeper, knight (died 1537).	In plate armour ornamented with scroll work, cuirass, shoulder-pieces, brassarts, plain elbow-cops, vambraces, thigh-pieces, elaborate articulated knee-cops, jambs,	Gough, i. xcix.; <i>Gent. Mag.</i> (1785), 679.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
KENT. Goudhurst (St. Mary)— <i>continued.</i>  on south side of south aisle, built under an oriel window of four lights.		and sabbatons. Hands in prayer, sword (2 ft. 5 ins.) on left side, mail gorget (1½ in.), gold chain round neck, and tabard (now flowered with red pattern). Ends of tuilles beneath tabard richly ornamented with scroll work. Hair long, falling to neck, and face clean shaven. Head on helmet adorned with oak leaves placed on cushion; smooth-skinned dog at feet. Well preserved and good work. Length: 5 ft. 6 ins.	
Goudhurst (St. Mary).	Constance Agnes, daugh. of Sir Roger Davis of North- fleet, and wife of Sir Alexan- der Culpeper.	In dark green petticoat, waistcoat cut square at neck with attached sleeves having wide wrist-bands (4 ins.), super tunic fastened across breast with golden band (11 ins.) held by gold ornaments, and wide hanging sleeves lined with fur. Feet in broad-toed shoes, hands in prayer, pedimental head-dress adorned with gold band, necklace with pendant and five gold chains, and golden girdle with tassels. Two cushions under head; dog at feet. Figure in good preservation. Length: 5 ft. 4 ins. Both effigies were repainted forty years ago.	See references in pre- vious page.
LINCOLN- SHIRE. Market Deep- ing (St. Gnthlac).	Sir Baldwin Wake (died 1282).	Destroyed, formerly on south side of chancel. [Exhibited in mail, cross legged; disappeared before 1782.]	Gough, ii. cx.
MIDDLESEX. Westminster Abbey Church. On original altar tomb on plat- form east of the shrine of Ed- ward the Con- fessor.	Henry V. Born 1387, succeeded his father Henry IV. in 1413. Died 1422. See <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i> xxvi. 43.	The wooden figure is the foundation for metal plates. The silver head and plates were stolen in 1546. The thieves also removed the silver plates with name and title and distich DUX NORMANNOREM VERUS CONQUESTOR EORUM—HERES FRANCO- RUM DECESSIT ET HECTOR EORUM. Dart's <i>Westminster</i> gives illustration showing effigy in tunic and mantle with hands holding sceptre and orb. Two cushions under head; lion at feet. Queen Katherine, widow of Henry V., presented the effigy. Present length: 5 ft. 4 ins.	Gough, i. xcix.; Dart's <i>Westminster</i> (illus- trated), ii. 36, 38; Stanley's <i>West- minster Abbey</i> , 148; Smith's <i>Roll Call of Westminster Abbey</i> , 66; Bradley's <i>An- nals of Westminster Abbey</i> , 102; <i>Some Minor Arts</i> , 58; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 180.

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>MIDDLESEX.</b> Westminster Abbey Church. North side of Chapel of St. Edmund in south ambula- tory.	William of Val- ence, titular Earl of Pem- broke, fourth son of Isabel of Angoulême, widow of King John by her second husband, Hugh X. of Lusignan, Count of La Marche. His half-brother Henry III. in- vited him to England; but his alien origin, rich marriage, pride and vio- lence involved him in unpopu- larity. He died at Bayonne (1296), and his remains were buried in West- minster Abbey. See <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i> lxi. 373.	This wooden figure is covered with metal plates and Limoges enamelled work on copper gilt. Clad in mail hauberk reaching to middle of thighs, with long sleeves and gambeson beneath, mail hose, spurs have been fastened with cloth to form straps of extraordinary thickness, surcoat powdered with escutcheons bear- ing arms of Valence (only three remain), coif of mail with richly jewelled fillet round temples (empty collets once con- tained stones or glass), sword on left side (1 ft. 8 ins. remaining), shield (1 ft. 8½ ins. by 1 ft. 1 in.) borne on left hip, with arms of Valence ( <i>Barry silver and azure an orle of martlets gules</i> ), and hands in prayer. Head on enamelled cushion adorned with quatrefoils and arms of England; lion at feet. Figure rests on a wooden chest originally adorned with figures and escutcheons (nineteen of these lost escutcheons are engraved in Stothard's <i>Monumental Effi- gies</i> ). The chest rests on stone tomb of English work, with shields of England, William of Valence, and of Aymur, his son, dimidiated with those of Clermont. The metallic part of tomb, mode of wearing shield on hip, and decorating of surcoat with little escutcheons indi- cate French workmanship. Length: 5 ft. 7 ins.	Gough, i. xcvi. 75 (illustrated), Plate xxvii.; Stothard, 41 (illustrated with three plates); N. & Q. 6th S. vii. 451, 1st S. viii. 180; Dart's <i>Westminster</i> , i. 119; <i>Some Minor Arts</i> , 58; head fig- ured in Doyle's <i>Offi- cial Baronage</i> , iii. 8; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 179.
<b>MONMOUTH- SHIRE.</b> Abergavenny (St. Mary's Priory Church). In middle of Her- bert Chapel on wooden stand.	John Hastings, second Baron Hastings (8th by tenure) and Baron Berga- venny (1262- 1313), was son of Henry Hast- ings, 1st Baron Hastings, and Joan Cantelupe. Buried in church of Friars Minors at Coventry, but effigy is at Aber- gavenny. See <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i> xxv. 130; Nich- olson's <i>Roll of Caerlaverock</i> .	In mail coif with narrow fillet (½ in.), hauberk, mail hose, knee-cops, spurs (pricks gone) and straps, long surcoat with girdle hanging 10 ins. below buckle, sword belt (2½ ins.) over which portion of surcoat is looped on right side and sword (11 ins. remains) on left side. Left leg crossed over right; bare hands in prayer; head on two cushions; and lion (defaced) at feet. Good work, and face probably a portrait. Length: 6 ft. 7 ins.	Gough, i. xcix.; Coxe, 192; Morgan's <i>Monuments of Aber- gavenny</i> (illus- trated), Plate I.; Richard Symonds's <i>MS.</i> 1645; Church- yard's <i>Worthies of Wales</i> ; N. & Q. 6th S. vii. 451; Brad- ney's <i>Monmouth- shire</i> , 164 (illus- trated).



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
NORFOLK. Banham (St. Mary). In modern recess in south wall of chancel.	Unknown knight (1310-1320). Blomefield and Gough think it may be the effigy of Sir Hugh Bardolph, Lord of the Manor of Ban- ham; but he died in 1203.	In close-fitting coif of mail over which is a head-piece, hanberk, mail hose, knee-cops, mail gloves divided for fingers, spurs fastened to leather buckled to the top of instep (necks which seem to have been pinned on are lost), short surcoat reaching just below hanberk, girdle and sword belt (1½ in.). Right hand on right side held sword. (See sketch made by Rev. T. Kerrich and the description of colour he saw upon this effigy before it was painted and sanded to represent stone). Head on one cushion; no support for feet. Two small holes in left arm show there was originally a shield. Length: 6 ft. 1 in. The original tomb still exists as a wall recess in north aisle of nave.	Gough, i. xcvi. 36 (illustration from drawing by Rev. T. Kerrich); Blomefield's <i>Norfolk</i> , i. 240 (illustrated); <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 1st S. viii. 19, 179; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 204; <i>Kerrich MS. Coll.</i> (B.M.) 6728, pp. 25, 26, 6732, p. 13, 6730, pp. 13 to 20. (These drawings give details of this effigy as seen in 1779. Mr. Kerrich says that the mail on the legs was formed into squares.)
Fersfield (St. Andrew). In wall recess in south wall of south chapel.	Sir Robert du Bois, knight, son of Sir Robert du Bois, Lord of the Manor, died 1311. Married Christian, dau. of Sir William Latimer.	In hanberk, close fitting coif of mail over which is a head-piece, mail hose, spurs and spur straps with device at end of strap, surcoat reaching below knees, girdle, gloves, sword belt (1½ in.), cross-handled sword (2 ft. 10½ ins.) and scabbard embellished with devices (lost); other devices (lost) were let into the board. See full description of colour and devices in Blomefield's <i>Norfolk</i> . Two cushions under head, a buck couchant ermine, crest of du Bois, at feet. Length: 6 ft. 1½ in. Sir Robert du Bois died in 1311, yet this effigy is an instance of the straight-legged attitude, and it is possible that it may not have been carved until the middle of the fourteenth century when this peculiarity again made its appearance.	Blomefield's <i>Norfolk</i> , i. 104 (illustrated); Gough, i. 79 (illustrated); <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 1st S. viii. 19; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 181; <i>Kerrich MS. Coll.</i> (B.M.), 6730, pp. 83, 84, 6731, p. 24. (These drawings show the effigy and details of armour.)
Southacre (St. George). In wall recess in south wall of chancel.	? Knight of Har- sick family; possibly Sir Alexander Har- sick, and not as Gough says, "the first of that surname."	Head uncovered, hair long, gorget, jupon belt and knee cops. The present fragment is sadly mutilated and shows only head, trunk, and 6 inches of the right leg. The drawing by the Rev. T. Kerrich made 1779 shows it was then less mutilated. The jupon indicates that the effigy might be dated between 1340 and 1413. Length of fragment: 4 ft. 3 ins.	Blomefield's <i>Norfolk</i> , iii. 418; Weaver, f. 815; Gough, i. xcvi. 36; <i>Kerrich MS. Coll.</i> 6730, p. 61 (B.M.).

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>NORTHAMP- TONSHIRE.</b>			
<b>Alderton</b> (St. Margaret). Originally in south aisle, re- moved to belfry in 1848, but recently re- placed in the church.	Sir William Comb- martin. Alder- ton and other manors passed by Maud the only daughter of Patrick last of the Chaworths, who conveyed them to William Combmartin. He was certified as lord of these places 1315, and in 1318 custody of manors and wardship of his three daughters were granted to Margaret, his widow. See Hartshorne's <i>Northants Effi- gies</i> , 92.	In coif of mail with studded fillet round temples, hauberk, mail hose, surcoat reaching below knees with girdle ( $\frac{3}{4}$ in.), knee-cops, spurs fastened by single straps, sword-belt (2 ins.), and sword on left side (13 ins. remaining of scab- bard). Left arm flattened, and two small holes indicate that shield was attached. Hands in prayer, right leg crossed over left, head on two cushions, and feet on lion (mutilated). Mr. Albert Hartshorne draws attention to this figure being artistically and accurately carved; while the loose fit of the mail about the right arm and neck is well expressed. Effigy in poor state of preservation. Length: 6 ft. 4 ins.	Gough, ii. ex.; Baker's <i>Northants</i> , ii. 122; Bridges's <i>Northants</i> (1791), i. 282; Hart- shorne's <i>Northants</i> <i>Effigies</i> , 92 (illus- trated); <i>Victoria</i> <i>Hist. Northants</i> , i. 402; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 6th S. viii. 451; <i>Some</i> <i>Minor Arts</i> , 64 (il- lustrated); <i>Arch.</i> <i>Journ.</i> xxv. 251; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 205 (illustrated).
<b>Ashton</b> (St. Michael and All Angels). On modern tomb in south-west corner of north aisle.	Sir Philip le Lou, member of ancient family of Lupus. Fought against Scots in 1301, and accounted for fourth part of fee of Ashton and returned as lord of the place in 1315. See Hartshorne's <i>Northants Effi- gies</i> , 91.	In coif of mail, gambeson, hauberk, mail hose, surcoat, girdle, shield strap ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.), but shield destroyed, sword-belt (2 ins.), only fragment of hilt remaining on left side, and knee-cops. Hands in prayer, left leg crossed over right, two low cushions at head, and a lion (decayed) at feet. Figure in sad state of decay. Length: 5 ft. 7 ins.	Gough, ii. ex. Bridges's <i>Northants</i> , i. 282; Baker's <i>Northants</i> , ii. 127; Hart- shorne's <i>Northants</i> <i>Effigies</i> , 99 (illus- trated); <i>Victoria</i> <i>Hist. Northants</i> , i. 400; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xxv. 251
<b>Braybrooke</b> (All Saints). Placed on tressels in south aisle.	Sir Thomas le Latimer. Sum- moned to Parlia- ment 1289 and 1310, and died 1334. See Hart- shorne's <i>North- ants Effigies</i> .	In ridged headpiece (seldom met with), camail, hauberk, mail hose, knee-cops of plate, rowel spurs and straps, shield on left arm (2 ft. by 1 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins.), shield- strap, sword-belt ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) interlaced round scabbard of cross-handled sword (2 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.), short surcoat open at sides. Hands in plain gauntlets in prayer, right leg crossed over left, moustaches drooping, lion at feet, two cushions under head (damaged). Figure	Bridges's <i>Northants</i> (1791), ii. 13; <i>Arch.</i> <i>Journ.</i> xviii. 75; xxv. 251; Baker's <i>Northants</i> , ii. 127; Hartshorne's <i>North- ants Effigies</i> , 93 (il- lustrated); <i>Victoria</i> <i>Hist. Northants</i> , i. 400; <i>Some Minor</i> <i>Arts</i> , 65 (illus.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
NORTHAMP- TONSHIRE. Braybrooke (All Saints)— <i>continued.</i>		made out of piece of knotty oak. The short surcoat indicates the transitional period from cyclas to jupon, while the ridged head-piece is the precursor of the pointed bascinet. The figure was probably the work of a local carpenter. Length: 6 ft. 10 ins.	trated); <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 206 (illustrated).
Cold Higham (St. Luke). On free-stone tomb with delicate tracery panelling under arched recess in south wall of Potcote Chapel.	Sir John Pateshull or Pattishall (? 1291 - 1349). Summoned to council of mag- nates 1335 ( <i>Foe- dera</i> , ii. 916), to Parliament 1342, and to military service in 1345 ( <i>Ib.</i> iii. 52). See <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i> xliv. 30	In bascinet and camail, hauberk, mail hose, knee-cops, elbow-pieces with single articulations, spurs and straps, long surcoat to below knees, left hand on scabbard (1 ft. 5 ins. remaining), sword- belt (2 ins.) attached to scabbard by loquets, hands in leather gloves, two cushions under head, and lion (mutila- ted) at feet. This is a good example of transitional armour; hauberk, surcoat and mail hose belonging to the early part of fourteenth century, while basci- net, camail, gloves, elbow pieces, and knee-cops, indicate the middle of the century. The two low cushions belong to the earlier period. Length: 6 ft. 3 in.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xxv. 251; Hartshorne's <i>North- ants Effigies</i> (illus- trated); <i>Victoria Hist. Northants</i> , i. 405.
Doldford (St. Mary). In wall recess in north aisle.	? Hawise Keynes, mother of Sir Robert Keynes, who was living in 1329.	In kirtle, super-tunic, wimple, and veil falling to shoulders. Hands in prayer, but now broken at shoulders. This is a melancholy wreck of a once beautiful effigy. Length: 6 ft. 7 ins.	Baker's <i>Northants</i> , i. 361; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xxv. 251; Hart- shorne's <i>Northants Effigies</i> , 93 (illus- trated); <i>Victoria Hist. Northants</i> , i. 40; <i>Some Minor Arts</i> , 64 (illus- trated); <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 206 (illus- trated).
Gayton (St. Mary). Under ogee arch in the wall be- tween chancel and north chapel.	Sir Philip Gayton, 1316.	In coif of mail with fillet round temples, hauberk, long surcoat, girdle ( $\frac{3}{4}$ in.), prick spurs and straps, knee-cops, sword (damaged, 1 ft. 10 ins.), hands in prayer, right leg crossed over left. Effigy carefully and judiciously restored by Dr. Butler, Dean of Peterborough. Length: 5 ft. 10 ins.	Baker's <i>Northants</i> , ii. 281; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75; xxv. 251; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 1st S. viii. 19; Hartshorne's <i>Northants Effigies</i> , 99 (illustrated).

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
NORTHAMP. TONSHIRE. Holdenby (All Saints).	?Robert Holdenby, who married Joan, daughter of Richard Zouche, and builder of the greater part of the church. See <i>Arch. Jour.</i> lxxv. 97.	Destroyed. [In 1786 Gough mentions this effigy as "a wooden figure of a man in a buttoned gown." Mr. Justinian Isham (afterwards Sir Justinian Isham, fifth baronet) visited Holdenby 2nd September, 1717, and mentions in his M.S. diary the existence of "an old monument of a person in wood who I was told was a Holdenbie, a helmet and sword lies upon it." There is a local tradition that this effigy, sword, and head-piece were taken away many years ago by a gentleman of the neighbourhood, who came in his carriage for the purpose. See <i>Arch. Jour.</i> lxxv. 97. It is probable that this effigy belonged to the early part of the reign of Edward III., and represented a franklin in <i>tunica botonata cum manicis botonatis</i> . In Bridges's <i>Northants.</i> (1791) we find that he says the recess in the south wall of the south aisle contained "the wooden statue of a man in a buttoned gown, with an iron sword and head-piece laid by him."]	Gough, ii. cx.; Bridges's <i>Northants.</i> i. 529; Sir Justinian Isham's private MS. diary, 2nd September, 1717; Baker's <i>Northants.</i> i. 219, 210; <i>Arch. Jour.</i> lxxv. 97.
Paulespury. (St. James). On high freestone tomb under easternmost arch of the chancel aisle on north side.	Sir Laurence Pavely, summoned to perform military service beyond the sea in reign of Edward II.; also summoned to great council at Westminster (17 Ed. II.). Obtained confirmation of his lands in 1323, and died 1349.	In conical and fluted basinet (of excessively rare occurrence) to which a camail is attached by laces running through loops, hauberk with tight-fitting sleeves, cyclas with loose sleeves reaching below elbows, mail hose bound with a band below knees, fluted knee-caps, rowel spurs and straps, hands in plain cuffed gauntlets (right holding scabbard and left sheathing sword), left arm bears shield (mutilated, 1 ft. 9 ins. by 9 ins.), sword (1 ft. 6 ins. remaining) loosely suspended by belt (2 ins.) and fastened by a double locket placed a few inches below top of scabbard, two cushions under head, and feet on lion. Figure shows decline in art; but has suffered from whitewash and neglect. Length: 6 ft. 1 in.	Gough, vi. cx.; Baker's <i>Northants.</i> ii. 207; <i>Arch. Jour.</i> xxv. 250; Hartshorne's <i>Northants Effigies</i> , 66 (illustrated); <i>Victoria Hist. Northants.</i> i. 402; <i>Some Minor Arts</i> , 65; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 206 (illustrated).
Paulespury (St. James).	Dame Pavely (wife of Sir Laurence Pavely), 1350.	In kirtle with tight-fitting sleeves, long sleeveless super-tunic caught up over arm and falling in graceful folds to feet, wimple, coverchief falling in elegant folds 6 ins. below shoulders, and circlet round temples. Hands in prayer, head on two cushions, and dog at feet. This figure is an artistic success. Length: 5 ft. 10 ins.	See above.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.</b> Woodford (St. Mary). On stone tomb in line of north arcade between chancel and north aisle chapel.	? Sir Walter Treylli, 1290. This family were interested in Woodford from time of Henry II.	In round head-piece fastened to coif of mail, hauberk, short surcoat reaching just below knees, girdle, mail hose, knee-cops, strap (1½ in.) and shield (1 ft. 8 ins. remaining), sword-belt (1½ in.) and cross-handled sword (1 ft. 1 in. remaining) suspended by two lockets, no spurs (possibly oversight of the sculptor). Hands in prayer, head on two low cushions, and lion at feet. Conjectured that the widow erected this effigy and her own in early years of fourteenth century. Dame Eleanor died 1316. Length: 6 ft.	Gough, ii. cvi. (illustrated Plate iv.); <i>Antiquaries Museum</i> , i. 269 (illustrated); Bridges's <i>Northants</i> ; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xxv. 250; N. & Q. 1st S. viii. 19; Hartshorne's <i>Northants Effigies</i> , 91 (illustrated); <i>Victoria Hist. Northants</i> , i. 401; <i>Some Minor Arts</i> , 58 (illust.); <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 181 (illustrated.)
Woodford (St. Mary). On left side of her husband's effigy.	? Dame Eleanor Treylli (wife of above), died 1316.	In gown with tight-fitting sleeves, and full skirt gathered up under left arm, mantle, deep wimple, coverchief falling in most graceful folds, pointed shoes, hands in prayer, two low cushions under head, and dog at feet. The mantle has been diapered in two shades of red and white in alternate quatrefoils containing concentric foliations and circles intermittently, decorated with swans and cinquefoils with the same floral centres of a smaller size. See <i>Victoria Hist. Northants</i> , i. 401. Draperies and folds of gown, mantle and coverchief are not only skillfully arranged, but artistically carved. Length: 5 ft. 10 ins.	See above.
<b>NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.</b> Laxton (St. Michael). Placed on founder's tomb with her husband and his first wife, on north side of chancel.	Margaret, second wife of Adam of Everingham. She survived her husband, who died in 1287.	In wimple, veil falling to shoulders, confined round head by circlet, long loose gown and mantle caught up under arm. Hands in prayer. Date c. 1290. Good work. Length: 5 ft. 8 ins.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75; Letter C. G. S. Foljambe; <i>Thoroton Soc. Trans.</i> iv. 1902 (illustrated).
<b>RUTLAND</b> Ashwell (St. Mary). On floor of south chapel.	? Knight of the Touchet family, possibly Robert or Thomas Touchet. This family held the Manor of Ashwell from reign of Edward II.	In hauberk with gambeson beneath, mail hose, surcoat reaching to knees, girdle, coif of mail with narrow fillet round temples, sword-belt (2 ins.) with sword (1 ft. 11 ins. remaining) on left side, spurs (pricks gone) and straps. Hands in prayer, right leg crossed over left, lion (mutilated) at feet, and two cushions under head. Face, hands, and other portions somewhat decayed. Length: 6 ft. 1 in.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75; N. & Q. 1st S. vii. 607; Wright's <i>Rutland</i> (Touchet family).

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>RUTLAND.</b> Tickencote (St. Peter). In recess in south wall of chancel.	? Sir Roland le Dameys, knight- ed 1355, in king's service in French wars, represen- ted his county in great Council at Westminster 1352, and thrice in Parliament. Living in 1388.	In bascinet with camail, hauberk, jupon with fringe of fleurs-de-lys, shoulder-pieces, brassarts, vambraces, elbow-pieces, thigh-pieces, jambs, knee-cops, articu- lated sollerets, richly ornamented belt (2 ins.), no spurs or sword. Hands in prayer, dog at feet, and cushion under head. Figure in poor and defaced con- dition. Length: 6 ft. 5 ins. The figure was removed from the tomb of Sir Roland le Dameys when the chapel of the Holy Trinity was demolished at the Reforma- tion.	Wright's <i>Rutland</i> (Dameys family); Blore's <i>Rutland</i> , 74; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 1st Series, vii. 528; Barton's <i>Guide to Tickencote</i> .
<b>SHROPSHIRE.</b> Berrington (All Saints). In wall recess in south aisle.	? Knight of the Berrington family.	In mail coif with narrow fillet round temple, hauberk showing quilted gam- beson beneath, mail hose, knee-cops, surcoat reaching below knees, girdle, sword belt (2 ins.) attached to scabbard on left side, 1 ft. 1 in. of sword remaining, spurs (pricks gone) and straps, hands in prayer, right leg crossed over left, head on two cushions, and feet on lion. Figure dates from early years of four- teenth century, probably made at Bristol or London. Face damaged, and sword broken. Length: 6 ft. 2 ins.	Eyton's <i>Shropshire</i> vi. 282; Anderson's <i>Shropshire</i> 204; Cranage's <i>Churches</i> of <i>Shropshire</i> , ii. 467.
Burford (St. Mary). On wooden altar tomb in middle of chancel.	Edmund Corne- wall, son and heir of Sir Thomas Corne- wall. Died in his twentieth year (1508).	In plate armour: cuirass, taces (4), tuelles with mail skirt beneath, shoulder- pieces, brassarts, elbow-cops, vambraces, gorget of plate, thigh-pieces, knee-cops, with articulated plates above and below, jambs, articulated sabatons, hands (uncovered) in prayer, no sword nor spurs, head uncovered, long hair falling to neck, face clean shaven, two angels on helmet support head with their hands, crowned dog at feet. Tomb and figure repainted in recent years. Length: 6 ft. 1 in.	<i>N. &amp; Q.</i> ix. 62; Tim- mins's <i>Nooks and</i> <i>Corners of Shrop-</i> <i>shire</i> , 209; Cran- age's <i>Churches of</i> <i>Shropshire</i> i. 241- 243 (illustrated). Plate xxxi.
Eaton-under- Haywood (St. Edith). In recess in south wall of chancel, with beautiful cinquefoiled canopy and at- tached shafts with capitals of natural foliage.	? Lord of Manor, c. 1350. [The ballflower ornament on tomb is not in- consistent with such a date.]	Dressed in close-fitting hood, long gown concealing under garment, shoes with pointed toes, hands in prayer. Good work, but probable that hands and head have been restored to some extent. One cushion under head; no support for feet. Length: 6 ft. 2 ins.	Cranage's <i>Churches of</i> <i>Shropshire</i> , i. 194.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
SHROPSHIRE. High Ercall.	? Some knight of the Ercall family. Sir William Ercall is called <i>clericus</i> . Died 1304; John Ercall living in 1311.	Destroyed. [In mail coif, hauberk showing gambeson beneath, mail hose, long surcoat, girdle, strap with kite-shaped shield on left arm, right leg crossed over left, broad sword-belt, right hand holds sword (broken), head on two cushions and lion at feet.]	The late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne made a sketch of this effigy in 1835, showing that it existed at that date.
Pitchford (St. Michael). On wooden chest on south side of chancel.	Sir John Pichford, (1237-1285). Patent dated 11th July, 1266, spared him the consequences of rebellion. In 1273 he appeared before King's Council giving evidence as to age of George Cantilupe, then claiming his livery.	In mail coif with fillet round temples, hauberk, surcoat reaching below knees, mail hose, girdle, shield-strap but no shield now, right leg crossed over left, spurs (pricks gone) and straps, sword belt (2 ins.) with pendant of 1 ft. 10 ins. beyond buckle, sword 1 in. out of scabbard (4 ft.), right hand on pommel of sword, one cushion under head, and a lion at feet holding end of scabbard in mouth. Excellent figure in good preservation. Length: 7 ft. 1 in. The tomb on which the effigy lies is adorned with trefoil headed arches (7) containing heater shaped shields emblazoned with armorial bearings. For description see Eyton's <i>Shropshire</i> , vi. 282.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 75; Eyton's <i>Shropshire</i> , vi. 282 (illustrated); Anderson's <i>Shropshire</i> (illustrated); Timmins's <i>Nooks and Corners of Shropshire</i> , 41 (illustrated); Cranage's <i>Churches of Shropshire</i> , ii. 503; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 207.
SOMERSET. Chew Magna (St. Andrew). In recess in south wall of nave.	? John Wych, died 1346. Tradition ascribes this effigy to Sir John Hauteville; but he lived in the reign of Henry III. and this figure was carved between 1340 to 1350. The last Hauteville was Geoffrey, who parted with the Manor of Norton to John Wych in 1328.	In transitional armour (1340 to 1350), helmet, hauberk, shoulder-pieces, brassards, elbow-cops, vambraces, thigh-pieces, knee-cops, jambs, sotlerets, prick spurs and straps, surcoat, girdle, shield-strap, sword-belt (1½ in.), and gauntlets with gadlings. Knight reclines on left side resting on hip and left elbow, and between left elbow and hip lies shield (2 ft. 3 ins. by 1 ft. 2 ins.), right arm brought over breast, and hand rests on edge of shield, left leg raised from hip, and foot placed on roaring lion. Figure repainted and restored in recent years by the Rev. Rawdon W. Hauteville. Length: 5 ft. 9 ins. Figure brought from Norton Hauteville chapel when that church was demolished at the Reformation.	Gough, ii. cxi.; Collinson's <i>Somerset</i> , ii. 108; <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 1st S. viii. 604; <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xiv. 158 (illustrated), 226 (illustrated); Paul's <i>Se-pulchral Effigies</i> , 7.

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
SOMERSET. Midsomer Norton (St. John Baptist). In the belfry.	? Knight of the Warknell family.	In coif of mail, hauberk, surcoat, girdle, with shield (1 ft. 11 ins. by 1 ft. 2 ins.) on left arm. Legs destroyed and figure sadly mutilated. Length of fragment: 4 ft. 11 ins. Gough (1796) says effigy was in south aisle; but originally rested on raised tomb under singers' gallery. This refers to the old church; new church built 1830.	Gough, ii. cx.; Col- linson's <i>Somerset</i> , ii. 151.
STAFFORD- SHIRE. Weston-under- Lyzard (St. Andrew). In recess in south wall of chancel.	? Sir Hugh West- on, 1305.	In mail coif with fillet round temples, hau- berk showing quilted gambeson beneath. mail hose, knee-cops, long surcoat, girdle (1 in.), rowel spurs, sword belt (2½ ins.) passed round scabbard of cross-handled sword (3 ft. 11 ins.). Hands in prayer (bare), one holds hilt and one placed on scabbard, right leg crossed over left, two cushions under head, and lion at feet. Good work. Length: 5 feet 10 ins.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xviii. 320; N. & Q. 6th S. vii. 451, viii. 398; Wil- liam Salt <i>Arch.</i> <i>Soc.</i> N.S. ii. "Hist. Coll. Staffordshire"; C. H. Hartshorne's <i>Domestic Manners</i> <i>during Reign of</i> <i>Edward I.</i> 35; <i>Port-</i> <i>folio</i> (1893), 207.
Weston-under- Lyzard (St. Andrew). In recess in north wall of chancel.	? Sir John Weston. In 1297 accom- panied Eliza- beth, Countess of Holland and Hereford, as her attorney, when she went to Flanders with her father, Ed- ward I. Sir John had charge of her jewels, and it has been conjectured that the little purse slung from his girdle denotes his badge of office. Such a purse on a military effigy is very rare. How- ever, there is one of this identical size and shape at High Erceall on a stone effigy	In mail coif, hauberk and hose, knee-cops, surcoat reaching below knees, girdle, to which is hung a small purse (5 ins. by 4 ins.), strap, but no shield, rowel spurs and straps, right hand sheathing sword, left holding scabbard, right leg crossed over left, head on one cushion, lion at feet holding right leg of knight. Good work and much care bestowed on details; both figures in good preserva- tion. Length: 5 ft. 8 ins.	See above.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
STAFFORD-SHIRE. Weston-under-Lizard (St. Andrew) — <i>continued</i> .	of a knight of about the same date. Sir John died soon after his return from Flanders.		
SUFFOLK. Boxted (All Saints). On brick tomb protected by railings in recess in south wall.	William Poley, 1587.	In complete plate armour, no spurs, tassets over trunk hose, ornamented belt with sword (3 ft. 5 ins.) attached to left side, ruffs round neck and wrists, hands in prayer, head uncovered, hair curly, beard long and divided into two points, moustaches long and drooping. No support for feet. Head on tilting helmet. Well preserved, painted black. Length: 6 ft.	N. & Q., 1st S. ix. 457; Davey's <i>MS. Coll.</i> (B.M.) 19077, f. 124; <i>Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Arch.</i> iii. Note to Plate i. and p. 366.
Boxted (All Saints). On left side of her husband's effigy.	Alice Poley, wife of above, dan. and heiress of Edmand Shaa of Horndon House, Essex. Died 1579.	In gown high at neck, gathered in pleats at waist, divided in front, showing petticoat with two bands of trimming at bottom, loose sleeves gathered at shoulder, ruffs round neck and wrists, prayer book (5 ins. by 2½ ins. by 1 in.) hung from girdle adorned with lozenge of Poley arms ( <i>gold a lion rampant sable</i> ) impaling Shaa ( <i>azure a chevron between three lozenges ermine</i> ), hands in prayer, head in jewelled French cap, three chains round neck, narrow chain bracelets, at feet a greyhound, head on ornamental cushion (top <i>dexter</i> BEATI MORTUI QUI IN DOMINO MORIUNTUR, <i>sinister</i> a device and A.D. 1579, March 7). Figure well preserved; painted black. Length: 5 ft. 6 ins.	See above.
Bures (St. Mary). Under second window of north aisle.	? A knight, said to be a Corne, or Cornard. Tradition ascribes his sale of Corn Hall in drunken freak and his burial in wall of church to the reign of Henry III.; but figure is of later date.	In mail coif, hanberk showing gambeson beneath, mail hose, knee-cops, surcoat, girdle, shield strap (1½ in.), shield (1 ft. 7 ins. by 1 ft. 3½ ins.) on left arm, sword belt (1½ in.) and cross-hilted sword (fragment 1 ft. 9½ ins.) on left side, right leg crossed over left, rowel spurs and straps, hands in prayer, lion at feet, head on cushion supported by two angels, both in albs, and one in cope. Head of angels and portions of figure have suffered from time and neglect. Length: 5 ft. 7 ins.	Gough, i. cxviii.; Davy's <i>MS. Coll.</i> (B.M.) 19077, f. 170; Jervis's <i>Coronation of St. Edmund</i> , 5; <i>Brit. Arch. Assoc. Jour.</i> xxxii. 416.

	Person represented.	Description.	References.
<b>SUFFOLK.</b>			
Heveningham (St. Margaret). Originally on high tomb with effigy of lady against north wall of north chapel. After destruction of chapel placed in belfry, now on floor of church.	? Knight of the Heveningham family. Some authorities conjecture it was Sir John Heveningham, died 1452 or 1453. This figure is in a jupon, so it could not represent Sir John, as the fashion went out about 1410.	In cuirass covered by jupon, skirt of mail, shoulder-pieces, brassarts, elbow-pieces, vambraces, taces, thigh-pieces, knee-cops, jambs, sollerets, spurs (gone) and straps, belt (2½ ins.), sword (destroyed), head in helmet with visor raised, drooping moustaches, arms broken, but hands were in prayer, support for head and feet lost, and figure mutilated, having suffered from neglect and decay. Length: 6 ft.	Gough, i. cxix.; Davy's <i>MS. Coll.</i> (B.M.) 19081, f. 64, 65; Weever; Suckling's <i>Suffolk</i> , ii. 395 (illustrated); <i>Archæologia</i> , xlv. 280; <i>Brit. Arch. Assoc. Jour.</i> xxxii. 416.
Heveningham (St. Margaret).	? Elizabeth, dau. and heiress of Sir John Ridisham, and wife of Sir John Heveningham. Suckling's <i>Suffolk</i> , ii. 395, says that original tomb had shield of arms of Heveningham and Ridisham.	Destroyed. [Gough mentions effigy in 1786 (i. xcix.); Davy ( <i>MS. Coll.</i> (B. M.), 19,081, f. 64, 65) speaks of it as sadly mutilated in 1833. A few years later it had disappeared.	See above.
Heveningham (St. Margaret).	? A lady of the Heveningham family.	Destroyed. [Weever who wrote in 1631 speaks of this effigy as "curiously painted and gilt."]	Weever; Suckling's <i>Suffolk</i> , ii. 395.
Wingfield (St. Andrew). High tomb under eastern-most arch between south chapel and chancel.	Michael de la Pole, 2nd Earl of Suffolk (? 1361-1415), knighted 1377, obtained annulment of his father's outlawry, attended Council of Westminster several times, commissioner for trial of Earl of Cambridge, Lord le Scrope, and Sir Thomas Gray, and died	In armour of transitional period. Cuirass covered by jupon, mail skirt, gorget of plate, bascinet, canail, articulated shoulder-pieces, brassarts, elbow-cops, vambraces, taces, knee-cops, jambs, sollerets, hands in prayer, in cuffed gauntlets with gadlings, broad belt, but no sword or sword-belt, moustaches long and drooping, head on tilting helmet with crest, and lion at feet. Figure carved with great care. Length: 6 ft. 6 ins. The north side of the tomb on which this and the following effigy lie, forms the sedilia for high altar; south side once contained figures of Earl's children and names were painted on ledge above. The Stafford knot (badge of the Countess's	Gough, i. xcix.; Davy's <i>MS. Col.</i> 19,092, f. 199; <i>Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Arch.</i> iii. 335; <i>Some Minor Arts</i> , 66 (illustrated); Stothard's <i>Monumental Effigies</i> , 84 (illustrated in three plates); <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 206 (illustrated).



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
SUFFOLK. Wingfield (St. Andrews) —continued.	of dysentery during siege of Harfleur. See <i>Gesta Henrici Quinti</i> , 31 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); <i>Nicholas's Testamenta Vetusta</i> , 189; <i>Dict. Nat. Biog.</i> xlii. 33.	family) freely used in adornment of tomb and arch above.	
Wingfield (St. Andrews).	Catherine Stafford, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, and wife of above.	In kirtle, super-tunie, long mantle with deep collar and folds caught up over arms, broad belt and buckle, head-dress having fret of fine pattern of four-leaved flowers set in squares, and circlet enclosing veil falling to neck, pointed shoes, hands in prayer, head on two cushions and lioness at feet. Excellent figure well preserved. Both figures shrouded in paint about one hundred years ago. Length: 5 ft. 10 ins.	See references in previous page.
SURREY. Southwark (St. Saviour's Cathedral Church). In a wall recess of north aisle of quire.	? Knight of the Warenne family. This family were benefactors to the Priory of St. Mary Overy. ( <i>Monasticon</i> , vi. 172.)	In mail coif, hauberk with long sleeves covering hands in mittens, showing gambeson beneath, mail hose, spurs (pricks gone) and straps, long surcoat, girdle, strap but no shield, sword-belt (1½ in.), right hand holds scabbard, left placed on pommel of sword and sheathing blade, left leg crossed over right, cushion under head and lion at feet. Figure ? 1290-1300, but has been restored (? by Richardson), face modern. Originally this was, doubtless, an excellent figure; it is now difficult to know extent of restoration. Length: 6 ft. 6½ ins.	Gough, i. xcix.; Manning and Bray, 373; Bradley, v. 364 (illustrated); Grose, <i>Ant.</i> pref. Plate iii. fig. 2; Thompson's <i>Hist. of St. Saviour's</i> , 110, 113 (illustrated); Brayley and Britton's <i>Hist. of Surrey</i> , v. 364.
SUSSEX. Slyndon (St. Mary). On modern high tomb at east end of south aisle, formerly in Tudor recess, south side of chancel.	? Sir Anthony Kempe	In plate armour, uncovered hands in prayer, no sword or spurs, hair long, head on tilting helmet, and no support for feet. Length: 5 ft. 2 ins.	Gough, ii. cx.; Dallaway's <i>Western Sussex</i> , i. 151; N. & Q. 6th S. viii. 118; Horsfield's <i>Sussex</i> , ii. 68.

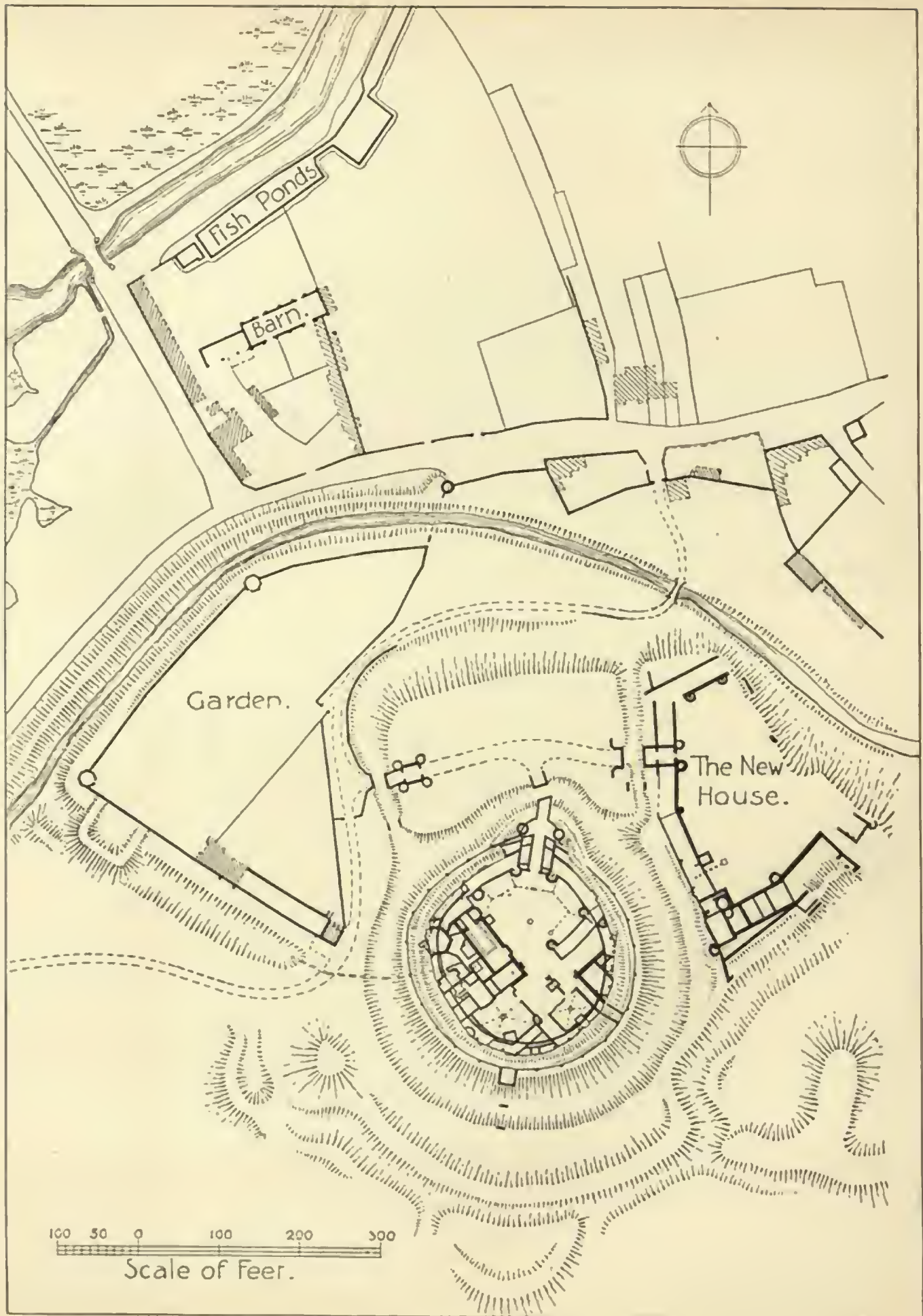
	Person represented.	Description.	References.
YORKSHIRE.			
Allerton Mauleverer. (St. Martin). On modern deal support in north chapel.	? Knight of Maul- everer family.	In head-piece strapped to mail coif, hauberk, mail hose, spurs (pricks gone) and straps, surcoat, girdle, knee-cops, sword belt (2½ ins.) with sword (fragment = 2 ft.) attached on left side, right leg crossed over left, hands in prayer, two cushions under head and lion at feet. Figure sadly worm-eaten and decayed. Length: 6 ft. 4 ins.	Hargrave's <i>Knaresborough</i> (1832), 281; Whitaker's <i>Loidis et Elmete</i> , 322 (illustrated)
Allerton Mauleverer (St. Martin). Same position as foregoing.	? Knight of Maul- everer family.	In mail coif, hauberk, and hose, knee-cops, surcoat, girdle (1 in.), sword belt (fragment), right leg crossed over left, kite-shaped shield on left arm with fingers holding strap, cushion under head, and support for feet destroyed. Figure sadly worm-eaten and feet destroyed. Length of fragment: 5 ft. 2 ins.	See above.
Barnborough (St. Peter). On tomb of Sir Percival Cressacre (living 1455) and Dame Alice, his wife.	? Sir Thomas Cressacre, living 1344.	In basinet, camail, hauberk, gambeson, cyclas, articulated shoulder-pieces, brassards, elbow-cops, vambraces, thigh-pieces, knee-cops, jambs, articulated sollerets, rowel spurs and straps, hands in gauntlets holding heart between open palms, shield (2 ft. by 1 ft. 2 ins.) on left arm, sword (1 ft. 9 ins. damaged) with cross-handled hilt having large pommel (2½ ins. diameter) attached to ornamented belt on left side, head on two cushions and lion at feet. This is one of the finest examples of a wooden effigy, and is well preserved. The fashion of wearing a cyclas lasted from about 1321 to 1346, so that this is one of the latest examples. Length: 7 ft. 2½ ins.	Miller's <i>Doncaster</i> , 274; Hunter's <i>South Yorkshire</i> , i. 373; Allen's <i>Yorkshire</i> , v. 266.
Thornhill (St. Michael) At west end of north chapel.	Sir John Saville, 1529.	In plate armour, hands in cuffed gauntlets in prayer. Head in helmet, raised visor with rosettes covering hinges, hair long falling to neck, cushion under head and at feet. Sir John lies between his two wives on wooden tomb adorned with shields of arms in square panels with inscription on edge "Bonyz among stonyz lys here ful styl qwykto the sawle wanderis were that God wyl in Anno DM mill[es]imo quingentissimo vigesimo nono." Figure considerably restored. Length: 6 ft. 2 ins.	Allen's <i>Yorkshire</i> , iii. 302; Whitaker's <i>Loidis et Elmete</i> , 322 (illustrated); <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> 6th S. vii. 451; <i>Portfolio</i> (1893), 207.
Thornhill (St. Michael). Position same as foregoing.	Alice Saville (born Vernon), first wife of above.	In kirtle, tight-fitting sleeves with bands at wrists, ornamental border at neck, long mantle fastened with ornamental band and two fastenings, wavy hair	See above.



	Person represented.	Description.	References.
YORKSHIRE. Thornhill (St. Michael) —continued.		falling to elbows, long veil with fillet round temples adorned with deeply-carved Tudor roses, hands in prayer, low cushion under head and no support for feet. Figure on right side of husband. Length: 5 ft. 10 ins.	
Thornhill (St. Michael). Position same as foregoing.	Dame Elizabeth Saville (born Paston), second wife of above.	Like above lady and placed on left side of husband. Length: 6 ft.	See references in previous page.
Whorlton. (Holy Cross). On tomb of later date on north side of chancel, beneath arch into north chapel (now destroyed).	Unknown knight.	In mail coif with narrow fillet round temples, hauberk, mail hose, knee-cops of plate or leather, long surcoat reaching nearly to ankles, girdle (1 in.) having long pendant of 2 ft. 10 ins. looped over sword belt, sword in scabbard (1 ft. 3 ins. remaining) hangs nearly in front of knight, right leg crossed over left, hands (uncovered) in prayer, feet appear as if uncovered showing the toes, yet they have been armed with spurs (pricks gone) and straps. It has been suggested by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope that the feet were encased in their leathers, like gloves, as spurs could hardly have been worn on bare ankles. Head on two cushions, dog at feet. Figure in good preservation; excellent work. Date, 1305 to 1310. Length: 6 ft.	
Worsborough (St. Mary). Between chancel and south chapel under south arcade.	Sir Roger Rockley, son of Sir Thomas Rockley, twice married and died 1522. Inscription on monument lost, but Dodsworth in 1619 records fragment "Hic jacet Rogerus Rockley, miles ... filius Thome Rockley, militis."	In plate armour, helmet with visor raised, gorget of plate, hands in prayer, hair worn long, face clean shaven, sword (3 ft. 1 in.) suspended from narrow belt (1 in.) on left side, head on two cushions, and upright semicircular cushion at feet. Crudely repainted in 1836 by local man in Barnsley. Length: 5 ft. 2 ins. On a wooden monument or hearse, consisting of chest with two tiers above it. Chest adorned with five shields. (Rockley twice, Rockley impaling Montteney once, and two uncharged shields.) Cadaver on chest, effigy on first tier, while top tier forms the canopy projecting 2 ins. and adorned with trefoils in circles united with a running scroll.	Dodsworth (16th October, 1619); Hunter's <i>South Yorkshire</i> , ii. 295; Wilkinson's <i>Worsborough</i> (illustrated).
Worsborough (St. Mary).	Male cadaver.	Male cadaver laid on shroud, low cushion under head and upright semi-circular cushion at feet. Length: 5 ft. 2 ins.	See above.







BASING HOUSE, HAMPSHIRE. GENERAL PLAN.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909.

XX.—*On the Excavation of the Site of Basing House, Hampshire.*  
*By C. R. PEERS, Esq., M.A., Secretary.*

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Read 18th March, 1909.

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THE village of Basing lies in the upper Loddon Valley a mile and a half east of Basingstoke on the south bank of the river, which rises some four miles to the east, near Worting, and here runs in a flat and marshy channel. At either end of the village is a mill, the Lower Mill at the west end and Old Basing Mill at the east, near the church. A third mill mentioned in Domesday does not now exist. The ground rises gently southwards, the road running through the village along the base of the slope, and at the east end of the village is higher ground on which the church stands. At the south-west, about 500 yards from the church, are the earthworks marking the site of Basing House, and commanding at the same time the road and the approach to the bridge over the Loddon. In early days, when the river probably ran through a wider belt of marshy ground than at present, the position must have been one of great strategic importance, and in fact it continued to be so down to the time of the destruction of the house in the Civil Wars. Its strength is also witnessed to by the fact that it resisted attack after attack by the soldiers of the Parliament, and was only taken at length when the Royalist power was broken, and Cromwell himself could give all his energies to its reduction.

The early history of the site is obscure. The nearest Roman road, that running north-east from Winchester to Silchester, is 4 miles away, and although evidences of Roman dwellings have been found in Basingstoke, some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles nearer, there is no trace of any Roman occupation of the site of Basing. It may be noted, however, that in the present year a copper coin struck by Tiberius in Gaul, with the inscription *DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER*, was found on the site of Basing House.

The place name in its present form is clearly of Saxon origin, and occurs in a charter of Ceadwalla, 688, as *Basingahearth*. In 871 Ethelred King of the West



Saxons, with his brother and successor Alfred, fought an unsuccessful battle "æt Basengum" against the Danes, having advanced thither after his victory at Ashdown on the Berkshire border a fortnight before. His line of march was doubtless through Newbury and Kingsclere, and the intention may have been to make an attack on the Danish base at Reading, but after the defeat the Saxon army retreated again westward, probably through Andover, fighting another losing battle with the Danes two months later at Meretune, which has been identified with Marden near Devizes. No other mention of Basing occurs in the Saxon chronicle, but in the *Liber de Hyda* is a grant of land at Basing by King Edmund to Ethelmod, dated 945.

Domesday records that Altei held Basing of King Edward, and there is nothing to suggest that the place was one of importance, but when after the Conquest it was granted to Hugh de Port, it became the chief manor of the fifty-five which he held in Hampshire, and it is probable that to his time we must assign the first fortification of the place. The de Ports held it till the end of the twelfth century, and the first record of the existence of a castle here is contained in a grant by John de Port, of about the middle of the twelfth century, to Sherborne Priory in Hampshire. After confirming gifts made by his father Henry de Port, he recites the grant of the chapel of St. Michael, with the land of the old castle of Basing, one acre of land, and the tithes of the village. This chapel is that of the castle, as may be proved from an entry in the Patent Rolls for 28th July, 1349, in which it is called the chapel of St. Michael of the Old Castle of Basing; and it is elsewhere referred to as the Free Chapel of Basing. The term "Old Castle" is curious, as seeming to imply that there was also a "New Castle" in John de Port's time, but from the entry of 1349 above quoted it is quite clear that the Old Castle was that whose remains exist to-day, and no evidence of any other is forthcoming. Adam de Port, great grandson of the Domesday owner, married Mabel de St. John at the end of the twelfth century, and took the name of St. John; and their great great grandson John became the first Baron St. John of Basing. The male line of the St. Johns died out in 1347 with Edmund, whose sister Margaret, married to John de St. Philibert, inherited Basing, but died in 1361, to be followed a month later by her infant son, and her sister Isabel succeeded her. Isabel's second husband was Sir Luke de Poynings, and at the death of her son Sir Thomas de Poynings in 1428 the barony fell into abeyance, and Basing came to his grand-daughter Constance, wife of John Paulet. The barony of St. John was revived in favour of the great grandson of John Paulet, Sir William Paulet, created Marquess of Winchester in 1551, the famous Lord Treasurer, and builder of the great house whose ruins are still to be seen.





BASING HOUSE, HAMPSHIRE. GROUND PLAN, AS EXCAVATED.

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After the Civil Wars the estates were sequestered and granted to Robert Wallop in 1650, but were restored in 1662, and are still owned by the Paulet family in the person of our Fellow, the present Lord Bolton.

The remains of buildings which have been brought to light by the careful and systematic excavations carried on for a series of years by Lord Bolton are for the greater part those of the house built by Sir William Paulet. A little of the work is later than his time, and a few walls older, but it is clear that the "most sumptuous house," as Camden calls it, which he built must have practically obliterated any earlier work on the site.

Certain foundations of flint underlie the sixteenth-century brickwork in the south-west part of the area within the circular earthwork, and must belong to the medieval castle, but are too fragmentary to give any idea of its arrangements. Their date is equally a matter of doubt. In 1261 Robert de St. John had license to strengthen his dwelling at Basing with a stockade, but no other light is thrown by documentary evidence on the buildings of his time. The excavations also have produced singularly few objects which belong to an earlier date than the sixteenth century, in spite of the scrupulous care with which everything found has been preserved. A little of the pottery is of the fifteenth century, and some floor-tiles are older, but only one piece of early stonework, a voussoir of a mid-twelfth century arch, is known to have been found on the site,\* and by itself it can hardly be taken as proof of the character of the older buildings.

With regard to the earthworks it is, however, possible to be more certain. The great circular citadel appears to belong to a type of which several examples exist in this country, notably Old Sarum and Castle Rising, and is to be considered as a more elaborate form of the earthen mount which is the chief feature of the mount and bailey castles of the time of the Norman Conquest. It is a ring of slightly irregular shape, nowhere less than 100 yards across from rampart to rampart, and was originally surrounded by a ditch which is in places 36 feet deep below the crest of the ramparts, and is still perfect on all sides except the north. The general level of the area within the ramparts is about 20 feet below their crest, and the main entrance is from the north-east; in the later history of the house there seems to have been a second entrance at the south-west, but this was over and not through the eastern bank.

In front of it to the north is a roughly triangular court or bailey, defended by a deep ditch cut in the slope, and probably stockaded in medieval times. To the

\* A piece of thirteenth-century carving in the museum at Basing came from the blocking of the roodstair in Basing Church and not from the House.



north-east is a second and larger bailey of oblong form, now containing the remains of what was known as the New House. Its east side is cut into by the Basingstoke Canal, and that part of its defences obliterated, but it doubtless had the same arrangement of ditch and stockade as the rest. It was probably approached from the other court, as now, at the north-west, where the foundations of a sixteenth-century gateway are to be seen, and had a second entrance at the south-east, though this was probably not an original arrangement.

The ditches seem to have been always dry, as indeed the nature of the site suggests, but a good supply of water for the use of the occupants is obtainable at some 40 feet below the ground level, and there are two wells in the citadel and one in the second court. Mr. Wilson, Lord Bolton's agent, has kindly sent me particulars of the supply to the well in the second court. The water level is 44 feet below the surface of the ground, and is maintained by strong springs all round the bottom of the well in the chalk, but chiefly from the south, the inflow being about 40 gallons a minute.

The historical interest of Basing, however, lies not so much in the earthworks thrown up by its first Norman lords, as in the house whose remains are now almost completely uncovered, and whose extent is shown on the plans here reproduced. The walls hatched diagonally are those which I take to be the work of the first Marquess, at various dates between 1530\* and his death in 1571. On account of the nature of the site, the buildings follow no recognized house plan of the time, but show none the less some evidence of the feeling for symmetry which was then coming into fashion. The citadel or Old House, as it was called in the Civil Wars, is entered from the north-east through a gatehouse which had round turrets at the four angles, "the loftie gatehouse with foure Turrets looking northwards," as the fifth Marquess of Winchester calls it in his *Description of the Siege of Basing Castle*, written at the end of 1644. The gatehouse opens to a fan-shaped court, with the great hall on the south-west, balanced on the south-east by a building with two projecting stair-turrets. At the south end of the hall is a block of buildings which may belong in part to the earlier medieval work, and probably contained the great chamber and the principal living rooms. To the south-west is a second court into which those rooms looked, and to the south a third, smaller than either, and there were evidently several smaller courts, the area of which is difficult to define owing to

\* Pat. 22 Hen. VIII. pt. 1, m. 34 (1530). Sir William Paulet is licensed to build walls and towers within and around, and to fortify the manor of Basing.



Remains of the citadel, or Old House, from the north-east.



Remains of the citadel, or Old House, from the south.

EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE OF BASING HOUSE. HAMPSHIRE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1900.





the entire destruction of some of the walls. The Marquess tells us that there were 16 in all in the two houses.

The chapel of St. Michael may have been in the south-east of the enclosure, where a heavy foundation running east and west is still visible, or it may have formed part of the range at the south end of the Hall.

The principal building of which remains now exist is the Hall, which must have been a fine room, measuring 60 feet by 25 feet, including the screens, which are at the north end. It was entered through a porch at the north-east, and had a bay window at the south-east. Beneath the Hall was a cellar with a brick vault, entered from the north by a flight of stone steps, and on either side of the steps were rooms occupying the customary position of the buttery and pantry, the eastern room, that towards the first court, having a projecting bay window. The cellars beneath the range forming the south-east side of the first court contain a number of paintings on the plaster of their walls, apparently of seventeenth-century date, and said to be the work of prisoners during the siege. They are of very poor quality, and represent ships, and in one case two human figures; all are now much faded.

North-west of the Hall is a hexagonal building 22 feet across, which can only be the kitchen, and has three fireplaces 10 feet wide, in adjacent sides; while to the east of it is a room with two more large fireplaces set against the rampart. It is evident that here, as all round the circuit of the house, the inner face of the earthen rampart has been cut into and masked with masonry, behind which in several places ovens have been excavated. The north-west part of the house contained the offices, kitchen, pantry, buttery, and the like, and the ranges adjoining the gate-house on either side, which have cellars beneath them, were no doubt the bake-houses, brewery, and other service rooms. More than this can hardly be said at the present day, so thorough has been the destruction of the upper works, but there are several interesting features which deserve mention. South-east of the Hall block is a large rectangular pit some 25 feet deep with walls of flint and stone, very well built, spanned near one end by a thin wall carried on a brick arch, and showing remains of another like wall parallel to it about a foot away, but at a slightly higher level. Half the area of the bottom of the pit has a stone-paved surface set at a considerable slant, while the rest is deeper and unpaved, and at first sight the whole looks like the pit of a very large garderobe. It must be recorded, however, that no dark soil was found in clearing it, and I should like to hazard the suggestion that the place was of the nature of a cold storage pit. A second pit, of much less depth, is set against the south side of the



enclosing wall of the citadel and is covered by an arched brick roof pierced by several openings, one close against the wall being long and narrow and the others more nearly square. The bottom is solid brickwork, and the only access is by a small doorway high up in one wall. This is probably the pit of a garderobe, and in the enclosing wall at this point is a large four-centred arch blocked with brickwork which seems contemporary with it, and forms one side of the pit. There can be no question of a passage through the rampart at this point, as has been suggested, and the arch probably serves to bridge an insecure piece of ground. There is, however, on the west of the citadel that *rara avis*, a genuine subterranean passage, in the shape of a culvert for rain water, tall enough for a man to pass through in a stooping position, and ending outside the lines of the fortifications. It seems to be unfinished at the outer end, which is some 10 feet below the surface of the ground, and was probably intended to come to light further down the slope.

It is worth noting that in an age when great houses were being built all over the country as pleasure houses, without much thought as to their capabilities for defence, this house of Basing must have been a strong place from the first, as the words of the license of 1530 imply. It was certainly strengthened in the seventeenth century, when the fifth marquess retired there at the outbreak of the Civil War, both in the masonry and earthworks, but the main strength must have been there from the first, and the wall which crowns the outer face of the circular rampart is certainly part of the sixteenth-century work. A description by one of the Parliament writers in 1643 gives a good idea of the place as it stood awaiting the first attack by Waller in November of that year.\*

"This place is very strongly fortified. The walls of the house are made thick and strongly to beare out cannon bullets, and the house built upright, so that no man can command the rooffe; the windowes thereof are guarded by the outer walles, and there is no place open in the house save only for certain Drakes upon the rooffe of the said house, wherewith they are able to play upon our Army, though we discern them not. The house is as large and spacious as the Tower of London, and strongly walled about, with earth raised against the wall, of such a thicknesse that it is able to dead the greatest cannon bullet, besides they have great store both of ammunition and victualls to serve for supply a long time, and in the wall divers pieces of ordnance about the house."

In spite of this, the sixteenth-century lay out of the rest of the house and its surroundings shows that there was no idea of making it merely a fortress in the

\* *The Soldiers Report of Sir William Waller's Fight.*



Ditch of the citadel.



The outer gate.

BASING HOUSE, HAMPSHIRE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1899.





mind of its builder, the first marquess. While retaining the ditches and ramparts of the medieval castle, he took advantage of them for purposes of show and stateliness rather than of defence. The approach from the street of Basing village, then called the Lane, led through a gateway which still exists (Plate LXXXIX.) and bears the arms of the first marquess, by a gently inclined road westward round the north face of the first court, between red brick walls of no particular strength, to a gateway, a simple arch in the wall, of which only the foundations now remain. Within this the road turned eastward and crossed the ditch of the first court, entering the court through a square gatehouse with angle turrets, and running on to the two other gatehouses which opened to the Old and New Houses. On the slope below the approach were, and still are, walled terraces and gardens overlooking the Loddon Valley, with a pretty octagonal pigeon-house at the north-west angle, and another octagonal building to match it further to the east. The track of the boundary wall can be traced from this point to the entrance gateway, and thence east and south beyond the line of the Basingstoke Canal, after which it is lost. It probably returned to join the south-east corner of the new building. On the site of the present museum there remain the lower parts of the walls of a sixteenth-century building of some size, vaguely called a banqueting house at the present day. It seems to have been a garden house at the end of a terrace. A wall from it to the citadel would complete the enclosure.

The new building, which was standing before Elizabeth's visit here in 1560, was divided into two courts, as we know from the description of the siege, but all that can be found of it is shown on the plan. It is said to have been a very magnificent building, finer than the Old House, and Camden tells us that the first marquess had made his house so splendid that part had to be pulled down again. This was probably done after Elizabeth's second visit in 1601, when she stayed thirteen days and evidently nearly ruined the then owner. The date may perhaps be fixed by the fact that in the 1600 edition of Camden's *Magna Britannia* nothing is said of pulling down, but in the 1607 edition it is mentioned for the first time.

The well is at the present day its most interesting feature; 50 feet deep, and slightly oval in shape (11 feet by 10 feet 6 inches), with brick walls 2 feet 6 inches thick, still resting on the oak template 15 inches wide on which they were built.

The question of the additions to or alterations of the buildings between 1530 and their final destruction in 1645 is of some interest. Several periods of work can be distinguished in the ruins, and it is reasonable to suppose that the chief alterations are connected with the preparations for the siege made by the fifth marquess. A news letter printed by the Parliament after the capture of the house



in 1645, *The Looking Glasse for the Popish Garrisons*, speaks of "those tall walls Bulwarkes and Forts that were cast up by the Subtill art of the forraign Engineers," and there is no doubt that the strengthening of the defences included masonry as well as earthwork. In the New House, unless the outer range of building on the south-east, partly buried by a bank of earth, be part of this work, it is difficult to point to anything of the date, but in the Old House thick walls, perhaps the bases of towers, have been set across the older cellars at a short distance on either side of the entrance gateway, and in several places within the



Fig. 1. Basing House from the east, 1645. Copy of a lost original drawing.

enclosure, specially at the west; the inner rampart walls are refaced and levelled up with later brickwork, and the base of a half-octagonal stair-turret is set against one of a series of shallow arched recesses of sixteenth-century date. Bricks of three different thicknesses are used, respectively  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches, and 2 inches, the thickest belonging to the earliest work, and many details of the stone-mullioned windows, crocketed stone cappings of the turrets, etc. remain to give some idea of the appearance of the buildings.







A. THE OLDE HOVSE. B. THE KEW. C. THE TOWER THAT IS HALFE BAT TERED DOWNE. D. THE KINGS BREAST WORKS. E. THE PARLIAMENTS BREAST WORKS.

HOLLAR'S VIEW OF BASING HOUSE, HAMPSHIRE, c. 1644.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1849.

Two views exist of the house, both taken just before its destruction. One is the well-known engraving by Hollar, taken from the south (Plate XC.), and dating probably from the end of 1644, in the short interval of peace which preceded the final siege of 1645; it is here reproduced from a specimen belonging to Lord Bolton. The other (fig. 1), which only exists in several misunderstood copies, as that in Warner's *Hampshire*, is evidently the view of the east side of the New House, taken just before the final assault in 1645, and showing the breach made by Cromwell's bombardment in October. A wide moat full of water, with a winding causeway across it, has been absurdly added by the copyist.

As might be expected, neither view can be brought into more than a general agreement with the plan lately revealed by excavation. The large gabled building (A) in Hollar's drawing, no doubt represents the block containing the hall and great chamber, etc., but is shown with octagonal turrets at its angles, for which no evidence exists on the plan. The tower (c) "that is halfe battered doune," and stands between the outer and inner ramparts, is shown as round, and is perhaps the round tower in the old castle which was "foundered" by the Parliament's shot in 1644, as recorded in the Marquess's diary. Remains of a building in the corresponding position have been found, but its base at least was rectangular and not rounded. The square belfry-like tower with a turret on its roof and a stair at its south-west angle may be one of those built, as I have suggested, in preparation for the siege, on either side of the gateway of the old house. The embattled rampart walls which surround the house look very insignificant in the drawing, and have perhaps been purposely lowered in order to show more of the buildings within them, for the description quoted above from the account of Sir William Waller's attack in 1643 gives a very different impression of their height and strength. The second drawing, representing part of the New House only, gives much more the idea of a defensive work, while corresponding in some points to Hollar's view, which of course shows the other side of the New House. Both show the conical capped turrets of the two gatehouses, parts of which have been found among the ruins, and both give the idea of a great and stately building, "a house fit for an emperor to dwell in, it was so spacious and beautiful."

The various contemporary accounts of the siege give a very clear picture of the general surroundings of the house, but add little to our knowledge of the various parts of the buildings.

The history of the siege is so well known and has been so often retold that it is quite unnecessary to repeat it here, except as far as it concerns the buildings themselves.



The first attack was in November, 1643, by Sir William Waller, from the low ground on the north-west, and was directed chiefly against the Grange, the walled farm buildings which still exist in part on the opposite side of the road to Basing House, running down to the river. The Grange was taken, and the loop-holed walls of the terraced gardens and the New House were fired at thence, till the garrison drove out the besiegers. The north-east of the house was next attacked, and a petard fastened to the gateway, probably that still existing, but the attempt failed, and the fighting afterwards centred round the pigeon-house at the north-west, which was called the Basingstoke Bulwark. The earthen bastion which still exists close by, set across the ditch, was probably now thrown up, and may be the site of a shelter of timber and earth called a Blind, from which the garrison annoyed their opponents who held the mill close by.

The earthworks to the south of the citadel are probably of this time, and evidently a great deal of such work was done hurriedly; the defences being said in a contemporary account to be slender and nowhere finished. Hollar's view is of great use in identifying the lines which still remain.

At the end of June a mortar was sent to bombard the house, but seems to have done little damage, and the siege was eventually raised in November.

In 1644 the house was besieged from June to November, and very considerably damaged, a mortar throwing "granadoes of 80 lbs." being used. It was posted to the east and battered a tower in the New Building, making a breach in it. A round tower in the Old House and a great brick tower, also apparently there, were "foundered" by the same battery, and on October 20th part of a ruined tower fell by tempest.

Finally in September, 1645, Colonel Dalbier began what was to be the final siege. He destroyed a great tower in the Old House, and fixing on what was evidently the weakest point, the east side of the New House, bombarded it till he cracked the wall in the midst of its length and brought down a high turret, perhaps the tower breached in 1644. The outer wall fell down in consequence, making a great breach, and the house was then considered in condition to be stormed.

In spite, however, of the severity of the siege, it seems that the house was not invested on the Basingstoke side, so that the garrison could get supplies thence, and Colonel Dalbier evidently considered his forces insufficient for a general attack. He tried to smoke out the place with burning straw, "just as they use to serve celes in old walls," said the *Mercurius Britannicus*, but the attempt not unnaturally failed. Where 80 lb. shells had been ineffectual, smoke

was not likely to succeed. But the end was near at hand. Cromwell himself came to Basing on 7th October with a train of heavy guns and troops, which brought the number of the besieging force to 7,000 against a garrison which cannot have numbered more than 300.

The house was completely surrounded by 11th October, Saturday, was heavily bombarded on the following Sunday and Monday, and on Tuesday morning, 14th October, between 5 and 6 o'clock, the final storm began.

Dalbiac was posted on the north-east, Cromwell on the east, the mortar battery under Captain Deane on the south-east, and Colonel Montagu and Sir Hardress Waller on the south.

Cromwell seems to have broken in first into the New House at its south-east corner, and Dalbiac nearly at the same time on the east, through the breach in the east wall. The gatehouse leading to the first court was then taken, the first court occupied, and guns brought up to batter the gate of the citadel. The rest of the New House was then attacked and taken. In the meantime Montagu and Waller had stormed the half-moon earthwork south of the citadel, called the Court of Guard, scaled the citadel walls on the south, and broke in on that side almost at the same time as Cromwell's men burst through the north gate. The whole action was over in two hours, and Cromwell was able to send to London "a good account of Basing."

The house, which was full of treasure and provisions, was then plundered, and caught fire from a fireball. What was left of it was ordered by Parliament to be destroyed, on a resolution that "whosoever will fetch away any stone, brick, or other materials of Basing House shall have the same for his or her pains." Several of the houses in the village have a moulded stone plinth which shows how the permission was used.

No attempt was made after the Restoration to rebuild the house, but a house was built opposite to it on the north, on part of the land of the Grauge; it was pulled down about 1740, only its gate piers, of beautiful fine jointed red brick, very like those at Place House, Titchfield, being now standing. Its materials are said to have been taken to Cannons, near Kingsclere.

The only masonry on the site of the Old House which is obviously later than the siege is a low retaining wall running all round the space within the ramparts, and cutting across the old walls in a way which shows that they were completely destroyed when it was built. Its object was doubtless to hold up a bank of earth continuing the line of the ramparts, but its actual date seems very hard to fix. A story that it is due to a "beautification" of the place by Capability Brown rests on



no authority, and indeed the only evidence of the treatment of the place in later days is to be found in a *History of Basing House*, printed in 1824, which mentions that in 1800 the then Lord Bolton intended to make alterations to the ruins, as he took great delight in the place. These alterations, whatever they may have portended, were never carried out, as the present Lord Bolton assures me, and until the systematic excavation of the site was undertaken the place remained untouched.

During the course of the excavations a large number of architectural fragments, pieces of pottery, iron, glass, etc. have been found, together with many evidences of the siege in the shape of bullets, swords, spurs, and fragments of the "granadoes of 80lbs," which were shells of no less than 13 inches diameter. These are all carefully collected and preserved in a museum on the site, and make an excellent object-lesson in the importance of preserving everything found in an excavation, however insignificant the several objects may in themselves be. The pottery makes a very good and instructive series of sixteenth and seventeenth-century household ware, mixed with a little older and some more modern pieces.\* There are a few medieval floor tiles, and several bearing the initials of the builder of the house, and consequently dating from c. 1530-40, and fragments of coloured glass from the windows with the famous motto *Ayez Loyaulté* recall Fuller's words that "the motto Love Loyaltie was often written in every window thereof."

Among the architectural fragments is a stone with part of an inscription recording the completion of a new building, no doubt part of the New House, in 1561, but the most interesting finds, architecturally, are the various pieces of early Renaissance detail. These consist of the flat arched heads of fireplaces in Caen stone, a beautifully carved piece of a large stone helmet, of the finest Italian work, and an equally fine terra-cotta roundel with the bust of a Roman emperor in high relief. It belongs to the same category as the terra-cotta roundels still in position at Hampton Court, made by Giovanni Maiano about 1520, and in execution is probably superior to them. The work of this period still existing in Hampshire here, at the Holy Ghost Chapel at Basingstoke (1524), and at the Vyne (c. 1520), is well worth a monograph, and might profitably be compared with the only too scanty remains of similar work to be found elsewhere in this country. The curious iron horseshoe (illustrated in *Proceedings*), to the back of which a handle has been fastened, has as yet received no satisfactory explanation.

\* Mr. R. L. Hobson has kindly promised to lay before the Society a detailed description of the pottery.

XXI.—*Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the Site of the Romano-British City of Venta Silurum, in the years 1907 and 1909.* By THOMAS ASHBY, Esq., D.Litt., F.S.A., ALFRED E. HUDD, Esq., F.S.A., and FRANK KING, Esq.

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Read 7th May, 1908.<sup>a</sup>

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THE excavations of 1907 were begun on 29th April, much earlier than usual, and were continued till the beginning of October, under the direction of Messrs. Ashby, Hudd, and H. L. Jones (assisted by Mr. F. King and Mr. F. G. Newton, as architects). The whole of the work has been carried out upon land belonging to Viscount Tredegar, F.S.A., President of the Caerwent Exploration Fund, to whom the warmest thanks of the Committee are again due.

The work began with the excavation of a small garden, lying to the north of the farm buildings of Caerwent House. This proved to be occupied by the street running from east to west, parallel to and intermediate between the high road and the north wall of the city. This street was bordered on the north by remains of three houses excavated almost entirely in 1905 (Nos. XIII x, XIV x, and V x)<sup>b</sup>, and on the south, by the outer wall of the range of rooms to the north of the Basilica. (See below.)

<sup>a</sup> Since this Paper was read to the Society, the western portions of the Basilica and Forum have been excavated, and the account of the discoveries there made have been incorporated in this Report.

<sup>b</sup> The excavations of 1907 have shown that the rooms which were in 1905 supposed to belong to a separate house, and were numbered XV x, really formed a part of House V x.



This street is shown in the plan of the excavations of 1905<sup>a</sup> as running between Houses No. XIII x and No. XVI x, and as also appearing further east, to the south of House No. V x. The work of 1907 showed that it continued right through the garden. It is fairly parallel with the main street between the east and west gates, and its width varies from 23 to 26 feet. In a trench cut across it where the large box drain from the Forum (see below) passes under it, it was found to be made of cobbles and large lumps of stone for a depth of 1 foot 2 inches, and then gravel with large pebbles for 1 foot 10 inches more.

On the level of the road were found several coins, including a first brass of Antoninus Pius, and some late third brasses and minims; and also a fine red deer antler, 2 feet 3 inches in length.

Along this road, about 4 feet from the north wall of the Basilica, were found clear traces of a line of wooden water pipes; as elsewhere, only a number of iron collars were discovered, but the actual space occupied by the wooden pipes could still be seen in the earth. They had been laid at a depth varying from 1 foot to 1 foot 9 inches below the surface of the street, *i.e.* from 3 feet 9 inches to 4 feet 6 inches below the modern ground level, except over the box drain, where two of them were found only 2 feet 3 inches below the modern grass level. The normal interval between them was about 4 feet 11 inches, but the distance varied from 4 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 4 inches. They were laid in a channel with rough stones at each side, and fragments of roofing tiles of old red sandstone over the top in places. The external diameter of the pipes was 6 to 8 inches, that of the collars 3 inches, and their internal diameter about 2 inches.

The line of pipes ran between the southern edge of the street and the north side of the Basilica buildings. They have been traced as far east as the junction of the street to the north of the Basilica with that coming northwards from the south gate. On the west side of this, on the east side of the Basilica, two collars have been found, as though part of a line going southwards, and another outside its north-east angle lying as though it belonged to a line going north-westward; but no other collars or traces of pipes in this direction were found, and this collar may have been twisted out of position by an adjacent root.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, lx. pl. xvii.

<sup>b</sup> At the junction of the two streets the hole could be seen in which a vertical stake or post, 3 inches in diameter, had stood. The hole was 2 feet deep, and the top of it 3 feet 3 inches below the modern level. For about 2 feet to the east, north, and north-west of this stake hole was a layer of burnt or decayed wood 3 to 6 inches thick, and close by were blocks of wood and iron conglomerate.

The pipes have also been traced as far west as the junction of the street north of the Basilica with the street coming southwards from the north gate, under which a similar line of iron collars was traced.<sup>a</sup> (See plan.)

Inasmuch as the internal diameter of the pipes cannot have been much more than 2 inches, the supposition that they carried drainage must be excluded; and, further, along the street to the north of the Basilica they were running almost absolutely on the level, while along the street from the north gate they were ascending steeply. That they should have conveyed such a supply to and through the north gate from the interior of the city seems absolutely impossible. It therefore appears necessary to suppose that they conveyed a pressure supply of fresh water for drinking purposes into the city from the hills to the north. This would be confirmed by the ramifications of the line of pipes as so far traced, and by the fact that near the east end of the Basilica two strips of lead with nails in them, to which the wood still adhered, were found along the line of the pipes. They had obviously been used for repairing a burst in the pipe; in one of them indeed there was a hole which betokened another burst. A similar strip of lead was found in connexion with a line of pipes in House No. III s.<sup>b</sup>

Various small finds were made in the track of the pipes: bones of various animals, a fragment of a bronze fish brooch, some window glass, and an entire black jug; also a stone finial. At the level of the pipes was found a worn coin of Domitian, and about a foot higher coins of Tetricus, Carausius, and Victorinus. Large quantities of oyster shells were also found east of the Basilica, some of them unopened.

#### HOUSE NO. V x.

Further excavation has shown that the rooms numbered 1 to 6 of House No. XV x on the ground plan given in the report for 1905<sup>c</sup> really belonged to what we have called House No. V x. They are, as a fact, a later addition to it, forming part of the same block of buildings, and fronting on to its courtyard; but their orientation is different,<sup>d</sup> and the main block of House No. V x had an earlier

<sup>a</sup> *Archaeologia*, lix. pl. ix.

<sup>b</sup> *Archaeologia*, lvii. 309.

<sup>c</sup> *Archaeologia*, lx. pl. xvii.

<sup>d</sup> Their orientation is shown as practically identical in *Archaeologia*, lx. pl. xvii.; but this has since been found to be an error.



and independent existence. The western wall of these rooms is continued to the street, where it meets the wall running eastward along the street to the south-west corner of the main building<sup>a</sup> of House No. V s.

In the courtyard belonging to this house is a well 17 feet deep, built of stone, the opening being only 2 feet 3 inches in diameter. The water was reached at 12 feet below the grass level, at which depth a layer of concrete was found right across the well, which here increased slightly in size. From 14 feet to 17 feet fragments of common red and grey pottery were found in great profusion, and all much broken, but no Samian; some animals' bones, sheep, ox, and pig, were likewise found. A hazel nut was also found 15 feet down, and in the samples of mud taken out at 14 feet and 16 feet down were found the following plant remains, which have been kindly identified by Mr. A. H. Lyell and Mr. Clement Reid: elder (*sambucus nigra*), white goosefoot (*chenopodium album*), dock (*rumex acetosa*? and *rumex crispus*?), and nettle (*urtica dioica*).

Near the well were fragments of a large amphora, and the usual horn cores and ox bones; also remains of a moulded freestone column.<sup>b</sup> East of the well are two parallel walls which somewhat resemble the furnaces found in several previous excavations, but so little of the structure remains that it is not possible to explain its use. Under the garden wall, near the corner of Room 15, were remains of three or four large earthenware pots. One of these is red, with scored vertical lines, and is attributed by Mr. Reginald A. Smith to the third century A.D.; it is pear-shaped and broken into many fragments, but may possibly be reconstructed.

Cemented into a saucer-like depression near the south-western corner of the yard were remains of another large red vase, the base of which, 15 inches in diameter, remained perfect, though the rest of the vase had disappeared.

Opening from the yard into the street are remains of the threshold for large double doors, with the hinge sockets 8 feet 6 inches apart. The middle one of the three threshold blocks has disappeared. Here was found a nicely moulded little freestone column, apparently part of the ornamental frame of the doorway. The rounding off of the south-west angle of the block is a feature new at Caerwent, possibly to allow a vehicle driven on to the street from the passage, 9 feet wide, between this house and House No. XIV s to pass more easily.

<sup>a</sup> For its plan see *Archaeologia*, lix. pl. x.

<sup>b</sup> See Plate xcii. n.

SECTIONAL VIEW OF BUILDING WITH COLONN

SECTIONAL VIEW OF BUILDING WITH COLONN









## HOUSES NOS. XIII. XIV. AND XV N.

Some slight additions were made to these houses, which were described in the Report for 1905 so far as they were then excavated. Of House No. XIII. the continuation of the eastern wall was found under the corner of the modern wall of the garden, but the south-east angle of the house had been destroyed, as also, it was found later, had been the south-west angle of House No. V. on the other side of the garden, the stones probably having been made use of by the builders of the garden walls perhaps about a century since.

Of House No. XIV N it was found that both rooms were continued southward to the edge of the street. Nearly in the middle of the south wall of Room 4 were traces of the doorway into the street, and outside on the surface of the street was a large limestone step, 2 feet 4 inches long and 1 foot 6 inches wide, an indication that the floor of the room (of which no traces were found) was on a higher level. Inside the door, under the floor level, was another large slab of freestone, 2 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 6 inches, which showed considerable signs of burning (possibly from the destruction of the woodwork of the house by fire), a common feature at Caerwent. Room 5 probably opened into Room 4, but no traces of a doorway were found, and there were no remains of the floor, or of plaster from the walls. Possibly therefore it was a yard or shed.

House No. XV N, although it was at one time probably distinct from House No. V N, was annexed to the latter at a later date, as previously mentioned.

## THE FORUM AND BASILICA.

The Basilica and Forum (see plan, Plate XCI.) of the ancient city were first discovered in 1907, but only the eastern part of the *insula* occupied by these important buildings could then be excavated. It was not until 1909, through the generosity of Viscount Tredegar, President of the Caerwent Exploration Fund, that it was possible to complete the excavation of the remaining portion of the site.

The Forum occupies the middle *insula* of the north half of the town, lying on the north side of the high road, between the two streets leading to the north and south gates, and being so placed as to take full advantage of the sun, an



important consideration to the Romans in this northern climate. It consisted of an open area, a rectangle of 107 feet by 101 feet, these lengths being measured from the bottom step of the Basilica on the north side, and from the outside face of the ambulatory wall on the other three sides. It was entered from the high road by a gateway 15 feet 8 inches in width, recessed 20 feet back from it, and probably having a porch 10 feet in depth. It was surrounded on three sides by an ambulatory 14 feet in width, behind which, on the east and south, was a line of shops; while on the north was the Basilica, and to the north of it again a range of large rooms. On the west side, behind the ambulatory, no trace of shops was found, there being apparently only two rooms on this side of the Forum.

The total area occupied by the *insula* measures 182 feet from east to west and 251 feet from north to south. The block is perfectly rectangular, but inasmuch as the buildings on the other side of the streets surrounding the *insula* are less carefully laid out, these streets vary considerably in width; *e.g.* that on the east increases very rapidly from south to north.

The whole group of buildings displays a very close similarity to the Forum and Basilica at Silchester, which are on a somewhat larger scale.\*

#### THE BASILICA.

The rooms in the extreme north-west corner of the Basilica had already been excavated in 1905, and attributed to a house to which the number XVI<sup>x</sup> was given.<sup>b</sup> The entrance from Room 2 into the north aisle has been found to be 6 feet wide; it was blocked up by the modern garden wall; in front of it was a worn sandstone step, 9 inches high, worn down to 4 inches in the middle.

Room 3 was found to have been accessible from the north aisle of the Basilica through Room 2, and possibly also direct from the street on the north, but of this it is impossible to be certain, as its north wall had been entirely destroyed. With Room 4 it had no direct communication. The north-eastern corner was found just inside the wall of the garden, and a few inches below the surface the floor, of good *opus signinum*, and the plastered walls were discovered. Both the east and north walls had remains of coloured plaster, but only a few square inches were left on the north wall, which could not be made much of, but on the east wall the plaster remained to a height of about 2 feet above the floor. On the portion of

\* *Archaeologia*, liii. pl. xli.

<sup>b</sup> *Archaeologia*, lx. pl. xviii.

this wall that it was possible to examine the wall painting seems to be much like that on the southern wall of the room, of which a coloured plate is given in *Archaeologia*,\* the dado at the base, above the quarter-round, which is rough but well preserved, being of a similar mottled pattern, though the interstices between the brown multangular patches are much greener than they are given in the drawing. At the top, 5 feet from the north-west corner, some 6 inches of deep ochre colour indicate a similar pilaster to that shown in the plate, but the dado to the right, north of the pilaster on this east wall, was whitish or pale cream-coloured, with angular blotches of deep red, instead of the brown and green mottled pattern found on the south wall. This may have been a later layer, the plaster being of very inferior quality.

On the south side of the garden the Roman walls of the Basilica remain in some cases to a height of 6 feet above the present ground level, or 10 feet above the foundations. The northern wall of Room 4 had been made use of by the builders of the barn, who had taken out the stones they required, leaving the Roman plastering on the outer face of the wall. This plaster, which was rather rough and of a pinkish-brown colour, was about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick, and is of interest as one of the few instances yet found at Caerwent of Roman walls plastered on the outside. When first excavated, from the northern side, this plaster was discovered covering a space of several feet, and had the appearance of a solid wall. Shortly afterwards, however, the pressure of the rubble filling sent the whole mass into the trench, and it was then found that a breach of several feet had been made in the wall. The foundations, however, remained, and the wall was continued eastward more than 100 feet, forming the northern wall of Rooms 5, 6, and 7, and separating them from the street.

No floors were found to Rooms 4 and 5, except possible traces of a perished concrete floor in the former. Both rooms were entered from the Basilica and not from the street, and Room 5 has a large entrance 10 feet wide on the south, which was blocked up by later walling, but only to a height of about 10 inches, so that it may be simply a later raising of the threshold.

Room 6 has a floor of gravel concrete with a quarter-round moulding, well preserved; its walls are covered with rough white plaster. It has a doorway from the Basilica, 5 feet in width, the threshold stone of which was found *in situ*. The opening had been filled in with later stonework to a height of some 2 feet. Into the south wall of the room was built a square freestone pilaster capital.

\* *Archaeologia*, lx. pl. xix.



Room 7 was only accessible from Room 6. Its east, west, and south walls were preserved to a height of 2 feet and were still coated with plaster. The upper layer, of which little remained, was deep ochre, with narrow red bands and some splotches of red; while the lower layer was of pinkish white, splashed with black, yellow, white, and red. The floor was of very hard gravel concrete; on it was found a worn first brass of Faustina.

To the south of this northern range of rooms the Basilica proper begins. It had a nave 25 feet 6 inches wide, and two aisles, each 12 feet to 13 feet wide, divided from the nave by a row of columns on each side.<sup>a</sup> These appear to have been nearly 3 feet in diameter at the base and 2 feet 7 inches at the top; a drum of one of them, of local sandstone, has been preserved (it was lying in the yard before our work began), and is about 2 feet 8 inches in diameter. The drum is ornamented with an overlapping laurel-leaf pattern arranged in a spiral about 12 inches deep. Whether or not this ornamentation was carried the whole length of the column it is impossible to say. Several small fragments found during the excavations have the same pattern. Only one small portion of a double Attic base<sup>b</sup> was found, which might have belonged to these large columns, but the upper part of the Corinthian capitals can be reconstructed from fragments found within the Basilica. They were remarkably like those of the Basilica at Silchester.<sup>c</sup> (See fig. 1). The bases of these columns stood upon slabs of local yellow sandstone, of which, partly owing to the action of fire upon them and partly owing to their removal for building material, only scanty remains exist, and those in a friable condition. The same considerations apply to the columns, the existence of so few fragments of which would otherwise be remarkable. They are not even to be seen in use as building material in other parts of the village. The whole of the Basilica shows traces of previous excavation.

The foundation walls by which the columns were supported are still preserved. They are no less than 5 feet 4 inches in width, and, while their lower courses are of stone, the portion which lay immediately below the sandstone slabs was built of red baked tiles, partly fragments of flanged tiles (or sometimes whole ones with the space between filled with mortar), partly flat tiles (the latter 9½ inches to 11½ inches square). The flanges were generally parallel, but sometimes at right angles to the wall; they vary from 1 inch to 2 inches thick, as do the mortar

<sup>a</sup> In the north aisle are remains of much later walling, shown in the plan south of Room 4, belonging to a period after the destruction of the Basilica. The narrow wall in Room 11 at the west end of the nave also belongs to this late period.

<sup>b</sup> See Plate xcii. E.

<sup>c</sup> *Archaeologia*, liii. 552 and pl. xxxviii.

courses, while the tiles without flanges are about  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch in thickness. In the west wall of Room 9, on the other hand, we find three tile courses *below* a stone course, and in the north wall of the nave a large moulded block of sandstone\* and other squared sandstone blocks have been used as ordinary building material, no doubt in a reconstruction.

Tilework was also found in the south wall of Room 4, where there are four courses, in the first course all stretchers, in the second headers and stretchers, in the third bull-nosed tiles with square sides, 10 inches long, laid outwards. In the first two courses the tiles measure 1 foot 4 inches by  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick; in the fourth course some of them taper from  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches to 2 inches thick, as



Fig. 1. Fragments of capitals from the Basilica at Caerwent. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)<sup>b</sup>

though they had originally been arch voussoirs. Those in the third course are 3 inches thick.

At both ends of the north aisle are rooms (Nos. 8 and 9) entered from it. Room 9 was also entered from Room 10, to the south, which is the east end of the nave, and is of the same width as Room 9.

Besides the doorway into Room 9, Room 10 could be entered in its whole width from the nave by a broad flight of two (?) steps, of which the lower is alone preserved; it is formed of blocks of sandstone in which a groove 1 foot

\* See Plate xcii. c.

<sup>b</sup> From a drawing by Mr. F. G. Newton.



in width is cut, and which show considerable traces of wear (fig. 2). It may further be noted that the back (east) edge of some of the blocks shows traces of breakage, and we may also mention the existence of rough walling on the east side of the blocks, serving perhaps as a foundation for the second step. In front of the groove there are rectangular holes at intervals as if for posts. These clear traces of the existence of a wooden railing or screen make it not improbable that this was the council chamber or Curia. There must have been at least one more step, inasmuch as Room 10 was heated by a hypocaust, stoked from the south end; two large slabs of sandstone, standing upright, form each side of the stoke-



Fig. 2. Basilica. Supposed foundation for screen at east end of the nave.

hole.\* The floor was supported by stone pillars, but there was a solid platform of stonework in front of the threshold from Room 9. One of the blocks had originally served as a base block; it measures 2 feet 11 inches square by 1 foot 1 inch thick. No traces of the pavement, except a few small blue lias *tesserae*, were found, but a large quantity of roof tiles (both flange and ridge tiles) and a considerable amount of plaster came to light, the latter showing traces of more than one layer.

The plaster is for the most part red; some is red with yellow-brown stripes, some pale blue, while other pieces are white with green and yellow stripes.

\* In this room were found two small fragments of a sandstone column, a moulded bracket of freestone, and a coin of Valens.

The south aisle has at each end a doorway 7 feet 8 inches wide ; the threshold stones are well preserved, and that on the east consists of two blocks.<sup>a</sup> The arrangements for the east door are curious, and the object of the two bars of iron loaded into the east side of the threshold is not altogether clear, as they are broken off flush with the threshold. Also, it is only on the south side of the threshold that there is a slit for the woodwork of the door. The iron door pivot, 3 inches in diameter, was found, also a coin of Valens and another of Constantine the Great. The threshold of the west doorway is made of three blocks of sandstone, grooved for the door frame, and having the pivot holes preserved. There was room for four blocks, but the space of the fourth was filled up with rough stones and mortar. The doorway on the east had been filled up in later days (after the destruction of the Basilica) with a large block of sandstone<sup>b</sup> 4 feet 3 inches by 2 feet by 1 foot 10 inches, and a modern sawpit had been constructed to the west of it.

In the eastern part of the south aisle a quantity of painted plaster with yellow and red ground was found about 4 feet from the surface.

The whole of the nave and aisles was paved with concrete, except the tops of the wide walls carrying the columns, which were covered with yellow sandstone slabs. Over the area of the whole of the Basilica was found a burnt layer, about 6 inches thick, containing much charcoal, no doubt from the burning of the roof. In this black layer were also found a number of large timber nails, which are now in the Museum.

The east and west ends of the Basilica are practically identical in plan, but there is no sign of any hypocaust or of any steps at the west end on the wide cross wall in the nave. The cross wall in the north aisle in continuation of it partly blocks up the doorway from Room 2.

On the north side of the nave of the Basilica a small hoard of some two hundred coins, mostly minims later than Theodosius, was found, which had possibly been placed in a grey vase, fragments of which were found near by. The greater number were of Arcadius and Honorius, with one or two of Constantius and Valentinian I., from which it appears that they were deposited not earlier than the fifth century. The earliest coin discovered in the Basilica is a fine first brass of Nerva (A.D. 96-98), which must, however, probably be treated as an isolated example, as it is in mint condition. There were also found in the Basilica first brasses of Faustina the elder, Lucius Verus (clipped), and Lucilla, all much worn ; some coins in fair condition of Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, Victorinus, Tetricus,

<sup>a</sup> The height of the step on the east was 1½ inch, and the width 1 foot on the outside.

<sup>b</sup> This stone is now in the yard of Caerwent House, used as a bench for washing milk churns.



Carausius, Allectus, and Constantine the Great, and small brasses of most of the emperors from Constantine to Honorius; also a silver coin of Julian the Apostate.\*



Fig. 3. Forum. Corner of the north side looking west, showing gutter and steps.

This seems to indicate the continuous occupation of the Basilica from the end of the first century to the middle of the fifth century A.D. On the steps south of the

\* A small brass of Trebonianus Gallus (A.D. 251-254) was found on the floor level of Room C.

Basilica was found a silver penny of Æthelred II. A.D. 990, the first Saxon coin yet discovered at Caerwent.

The south aisle of the Basilica must have had an open arcade on the south side towards the Forum, inasmuch as two steps down from the former to the latter can be traced all the way along the south wall of the building, the foundation of the steps being preserved even where they have themselves disappeared<sup>a</sup> (fig 3). The third and uppermost step, on a level with the floor of the Basilica, lay on the wall itself, and had been removed. Below and parallel to these steps runs a gutter cut out of sandstone blocks. To the south of the gutter are large yellow sandstone blocks 1 foot thick, laid as paving with a slope towards the gutter. South of these is the pavement of the open area of the Forum, made of old red sandstone slabs carefully laid. The gutter and pavement of the Forum are best preserved in the north-west corner.

#### THE FORUM.

The open space south of the Basilica was surrounded on three sides by an ambulatory. The coping of the wall on which stood the columns that supported the eaves of the roof is only preserved in three places. Lying on the floor of the western ambulatory were found the base and part of a drum of one of the columns.<sup>b</sup> The ambulatory was bounded by a gutter, which ran from each side of the main entrance on the south, close to the ambulatory wall, and along the south side of the Basilica to the north-east corner of the Forum, where it flowed into a catchpit, which forms the beginning of a large covered box-drain. This fine drain (fig. 4), formed of large slabs of sandstone, traverses the Basilica below floor level, falling considerably as it does so,<sup>c</sup> the gradient being 1 in 24. It is paved with

<sup>a</sup> Mr. W. H. St. John Hope suggests that what is claimed as the south aisle of the Basilica was actually a portico or ambulatory open towards the Forum, and separated from the Basilica by a wall with doorways only. In proof of this he points out that the west wall of the nave of the Basilica is not continued southwards across the ambulatory, as it ought to have been were the latter an aisle, and that in the same way there is no wall in continuation of that west of Rooms 9 and 10. He further argues that in our northern climate it is unlikely that the Basilica would have had an open colonnade to the south as well as an aisle open to the Forum. The Basilica would thus, according to Mr. Hope, have had a single aisle only, like the Basilica at Silchester after its reconstruction.

<sup>b</sup> See Plate xcii. D.

<sup>c</sup> In the south aisle there is an irregular aperture in one of the slabs which might have been a manhole. Only four coins, fifth-century minims, were found in the drain. Two samples of soil taken from it and examined by Mr. A. H. Lyell and Mr. E. T. Newton were found to contain a grain of wheat (*triticum*), a phalange of a roebuck, bones of the vole, shrew, and blindworm, and fragments of fish and bird bones.



large red tiles 2 feet square, and is 2 feet wide and 2 feet high. After passing under the Basilica the drain runs beneath the street to the north of it and under the yard of House V x.<sup>a</sup> After passing under the north wall of this yard it falls into a small pit. This has an overflow into an earth drain, the course of which could not be traced when this portion of it was examined in 1905, but it is not



Fig. 4. Basilica. North wall of nave, with box-drain; looking south.

impossible that the space over which the water overflowed was a garden or was planted with trees, which would have absorbed a good deal of it, though the massiveness of its construction would lead us to expect a more carefully formed termination.<sup>b</sup>

On the south side of the Forum there was, as we have already seen, a gateway 15 feet 8 inches wide, with sandstone piers on each side of it, the foundations of which are alone preserved. It formed, no doubt, a monumental entrance to

<sup>a</sup> The small open drain found above the northern portion of the box drain in 1905 (*Archæologia*, lx. 127) began in the middle of the street, and after running from east to west for a distance of 3 feet turned northwards, when it came over the large drain, running through the south wall of the yard of House XV x by an aperture about 9 inches square. It was made of flat stones, and roughly covered in the same way.

<sup>b</sup> It is possible that the northern stones of this box drain have been removed for use elsewhere, and, in fact, the stones forming the covered way inside the North Gate may have been some of them. They are about the same size and character.

the Forum. The eastern foundation block rests on a platform of stone slabs on to which it was mortared. Under one end of it was inserted a wooden wedge about 1 foot 3 inches long and 2 inches wide, which had left its impression on the mortar. The west foundation block was also firmly mortared down. A rough wall found between the piers may be a later addition.

It is not possible to excavate to the east of this gateway, as Caerwent House is built upon the south-east corner of the Forum, covering the ambulatory and the shops. To the west four shops (Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15) were discovered, opening into the high road. The wide openings in the front of each had been built up at some later time with rough masonry.

The Forum area was flanked on the east by a row of chambers, probably shops, facing towards the Forum, their back wall (which does not seem to have had any doorways in it) being the east boundary wall of the whole block. This wall can be traced under the modern boundary wall and just east of the east end of Caerwent House, where it has plaster on its exterior. Six of these shops, each 16 feet 6 inches (except No. 1, which is 13 feet 3 inches wide and 19 feet 6 inches deep) have been found. They had entrances from the ambulatory about 14 feet 6 inches wide, separated by piers of well-built masonry of small blocks of sandstone.

In shop No. 1, which was probably that of a fishmonger, were found many hundreds of oyster shells only a few inches below the modern level, and a considerable number was also found outside the Forum wall to the east, with a few mussel shells.\* Like the majority of the oyster shells found at Caerwent they were of small size, and doubtless were from the Bristol Channel. Some of the oysters appeared to have been unopened, both valves remaining in place. A concrete floor was traceable in shop No. 2, 4 feet 2½ inches below ground. Along the south wall coins of Licinius, Magnentius, Crispus, and Constantius were found 2 feet below grass level. In the north-east corner of shop No. 4, 4 feet down, were a Samian bowl (Dragendorff 31) with mark KALENDIO of late second century, and a coin of Maximinus (A.D. 235-238). A concrete floor was also found in shop No. 5.

There do not seem to have been any shops on the west side of the Forum; and the whole of this side has been so broken up by later alterations that it is impossible to say what the arrangement was in the original building.

Two massive constructions of yellow sandstone blocks were found running across the ambulatory and the chamber to the west. The blocks had been roughly

\* A similar discovery was found to the east of the Forum at Silchester; see *Archaeologia*, liii. 362, where Mr. Hope suggests that the shells were accumulated to be calcined for fine lime. This is hardly likely to have been the case at Caerwent, where good limestone is plentiful.



squared, and their average size was about 2 feet 3 inches by 2 feet 3 inches, by 1 foot to 1 foot 6 inches thick; they were laid in three layers, and the joints of each layer had been stopped in with stones and mortar after the layer had been put in place. The blocks were laid over the east and west walls of the ambulatory in both cases, and much care had been taken in placing them (fig. 5). In the north part of the room the blocks were more carefully worked and laid with closer joints; some of them were marked, on the ends, with what appeared to be masons' marks, thus: > + |

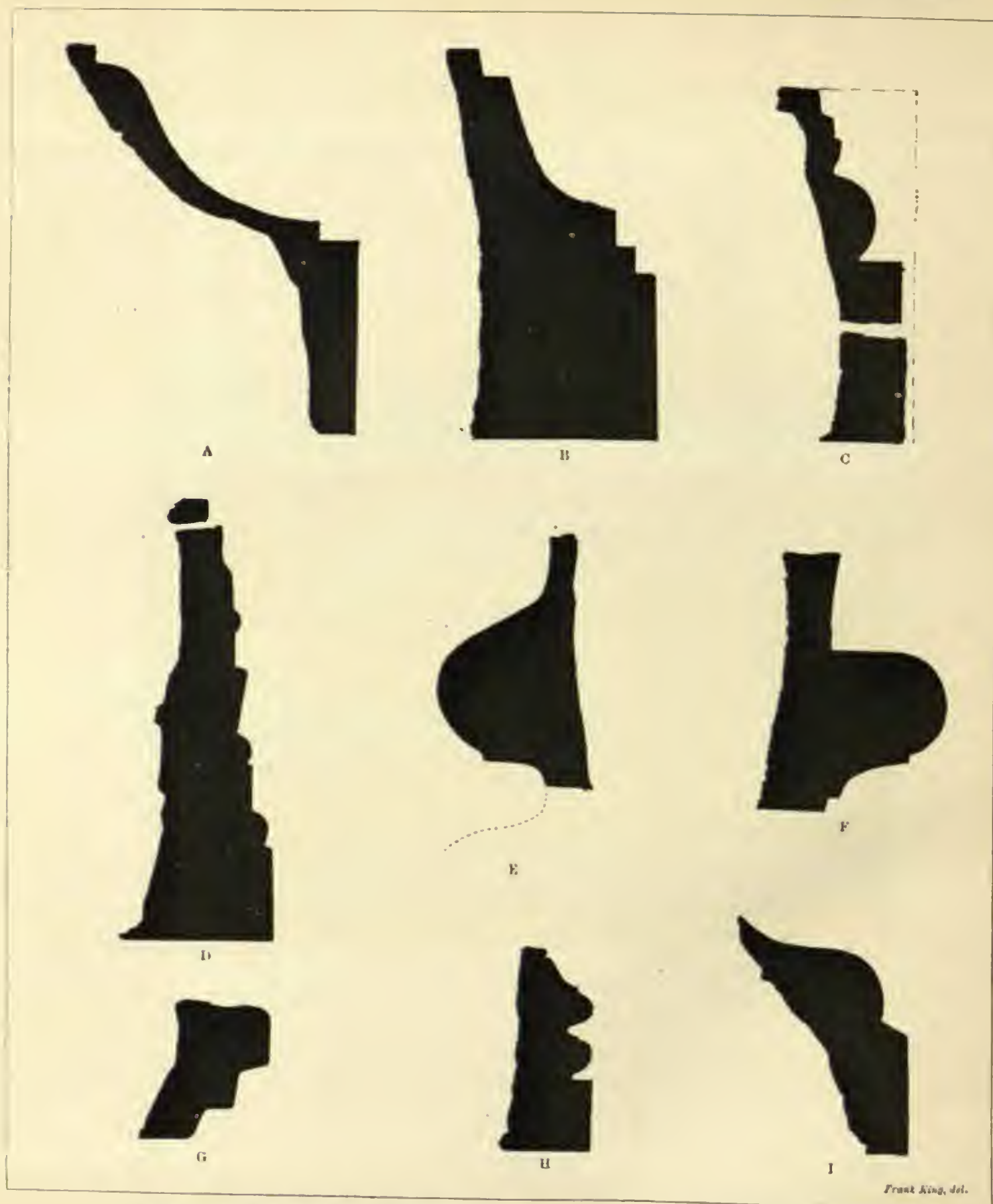


Fig. 5. Forum. West side, showing blocks of sandstone.

What such massive foundations can have been intended for it is difficult to say. Lying loose on top of the blocks, with a great deal of other *débris*, were two masses of calcareous tufa voussoirs, firmly mortared together. The masses evidently had formed part of a flat arch of considerable span and width. The voussoirs measured  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches at the top, tapering to 4 inches at the bottom and were 1 foot 5 inches deep. The whole mass measures some 3 feet by 2 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 5 inches. Throughout the whole of the chamber to the west of the Forum a very large quantity of calcareous tufa was found; a great many of the larger pieces were apparently the voussoirs of arches.







Frank King, del.

CAERWENT.—ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FROM THE BASILICA AND FORUM. ( $\frac{1}{4}$  linear.)

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Outside the west wall of the building, and just west of the blocks before mentioned, was another series of blocks again in three layers, and to the west again was the Roman street. These constructions of sandstone blocks seem to be of the same date as the square platform found on the village green in 1903;<sup>a</sup> the style of work is very similar and is certainly of late date. They may have been for the *podium* of a temple.

Only one block of the gutter remains *in situ* on the west side of the Forum, and one of the coping stones of the ambulatory wall to the west of it; for when the large foundations of blocks were laid the gutter was destroyed.

Very few architectural fragments of any sort have been met with. Lying on the steps at the north-west end of the Forum a fine fragment of a moulded and carved cornice (fig. 6) was found, and close to it what appeared to be a part of the



Fig. 6. Basilica. Moulded and carved cornice from south front.

entablature of the front facing the Forum. Just to the south of these, lying in the west ambulatory, a finely moulded base (Plate XCII.B) was found. The moulding is very similar to that on the base of the large inscribed stone found on the village green.<sup>b</sup>

Excavations under the pavement of the Forum, just to the west of the main entrance, brought to light two pieces of good figured Samian pottery

<sup>a</sup> *Archaeologia*, lix. 117, and pl. xi.

<sup>b</sup> *Archaeologia*, lix. pl. xii.



(Dragendorff 20), some black lustre ware, coins of Hadrian, Carausius, and Victorinus, two small circular terra-cotta lamps, most probably children's toys,<sup>a</sup> and a fragment of a column drum, 2 feet in diameter.

The north edge of the Roman high road is 5 feet from the modern boundary wall, just south of the main entrance, and is marked by a line of kerbstones. The upper Roman road level is 1 foot 8 inches below the modern level. It is a layer of pebbles not very compact, with yellow loose material below it. There is another well-defined layer of an earlier road, a hard smooth surface of pebbles and small stones, very compact, 1 foot 2 inches below the upper road level. Below the lower road bed is reddish gravelly sand, in which were a few fragments of brick and tile. This corresponds with the roadway found on the south side of the modern high road a little to the east,<sup>b</sup> with the roadway inside the gateway, and with the road bed discovered just south of shops Nos. 13, 14, 15.

The annexed plan (fig. 7) shows the progress of the excavations down to the end of 1909.



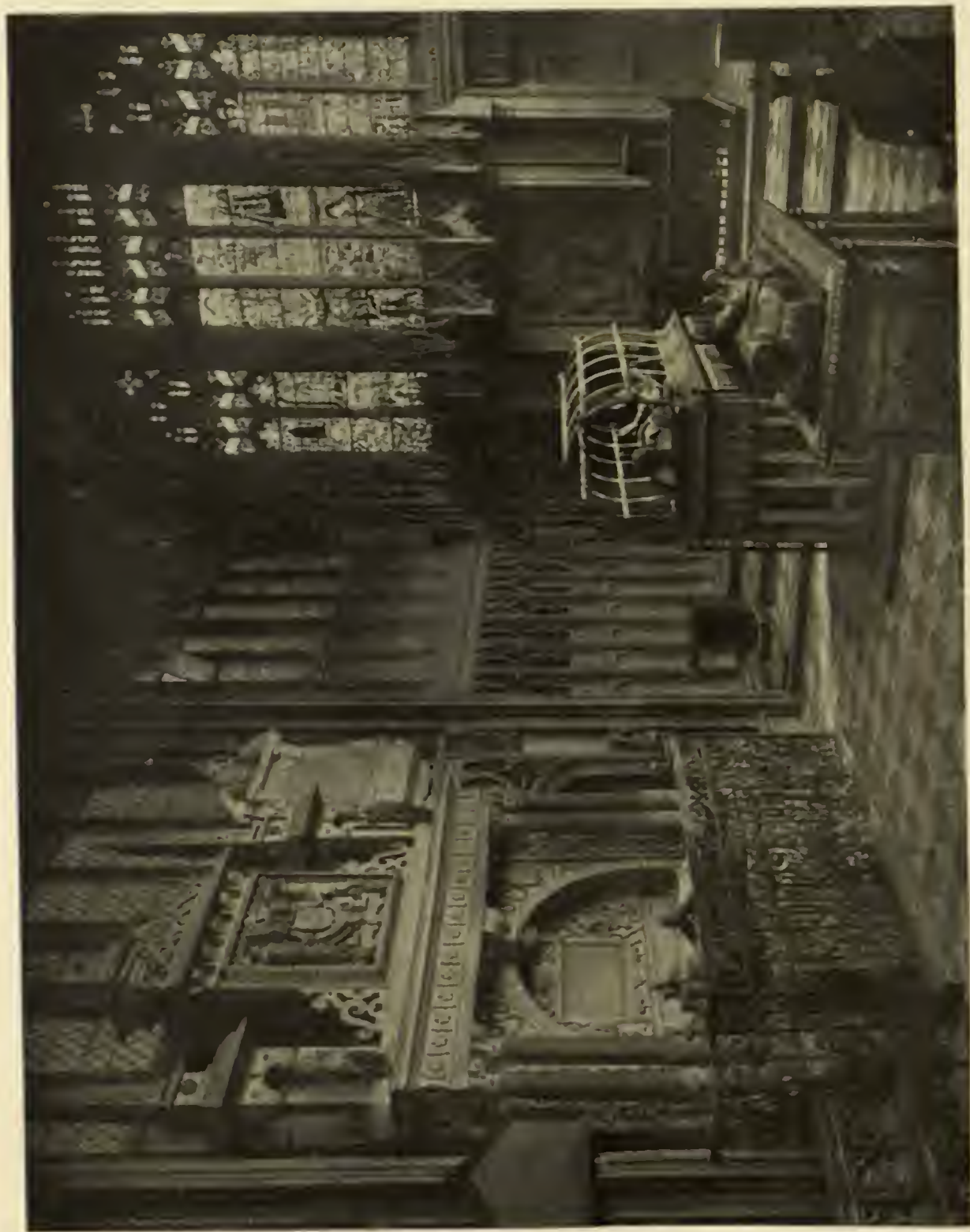
Fig. 7. Plan of Caerwent, showing portions excavated down to the end of 1909.

<sup>a</sup> Similar terra-cotta toys are still sold in the bazaars at Tripoli, North Africa.

<sup>b</sup> *Archaeologia*, lix. 123.







BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK. VIEW OF EAST END

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909*

XXII.—*On the Music in the Painted Glass of the Windows in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick.* By CHARLES FREDERIC HARDY, Esq.<sup>a</sup>

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Read 28th January, 1909.

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THE history of the foundation and building of the Beauchamp Chapel<sup>b</sup> at Warwick is contained (or rather was contained) in certain documents which were formerly amongst the municipal archives, but which (as I have been informed by the town clerk) are supposed to have perished in the great fire of Warwick in 1694. Fortunately full extracts from these documents are given in Dugdale's *Antiquities*

<sup>a</sup> The substance of this paper was the subject of a contribution by the same author to the *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig) for April, 1904.

<sup>b</sup> The authorities for the subsequent history, which have been referred to in connexion with this paper, are the following: (1) Dugdale's own description, based on a survey made, according to his *Autobiography* (ed. Hamper), in 1641, and appearing in vol. ii. of his *Antiquities of Warwickshire* published in 1656; (2) the *Mercurius Rusticus* of 24th June, 1643, recording the attack made on the chapel ten days earlier by a band of iconoclastic Puritans; (3) Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* (1796), ii. 123<sup>o</sup>; (4) John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* (1814), iv. 7; (5) J. G. Nichols's *Description of St. Mary's Church* (1838 according to the British Museum Catalogue); (6) M. H. Bloxam's description in *Notices of the Churches of Warwickshire* (1844), published by the Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeological Society, the name of the author being given in an article in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1846), p. 35; and (7) a set of measured drawings by Mr. Harold Brakspear in *The Builder* for 31st January, 1891. The above deal with the chapel as a whole. Specially as regards the glass we have Charles Winston's paper on the windows written in 1864 and published after his death in the *Archaeological Journal*, xxi. 302-318, and in 1865 in *Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass-Painting*. He deals most carefully with the condition and history of the windows, and considers that, with certain obvious exceptions, the glass in the tracery which contains the music is undoubtedly original. But, like all the other authorities, he does no more with the music itself than barely mention its existence.



*of Warwickshire.* Hence we learn that the chapel, which almost immediately adjoins the south side of the chancel of St. Mary's church, was founded and dedicated in honour of Our Lady in pursuance of the will of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439. The earl was a man of almost European fame in his day, of great and varied achievement, and of vast wealth. His daughter Anne, who ultimately became the heiress of his only son, was the wife of Richard Neville, who also became Earl of Warwick and is well known in English history as the King-maker.

The building of the chapel occupied fully twenty-one years from 1442 to 1464, and the contract for the glazing bore date 23rd June, 1447. These dates indicate the general character of the windows. The glass is of course not of a fine period of the art, but Winston considers it very good of its kind. John Prulde of Westminster was the glazier. He contracted to use only foreign glass and to charge a price of two shillings per foot. Certain stipulations as to the colours are also given, but we find nothing in his contract as to the designs except that they were to be supplied by the earl's executors, nor is there any mention of music. The windows themselves (which are seven in number and rise to a height of nearly 30 feet from the ground) consist of the usual perpendicular mullions with arched and cusped heads.

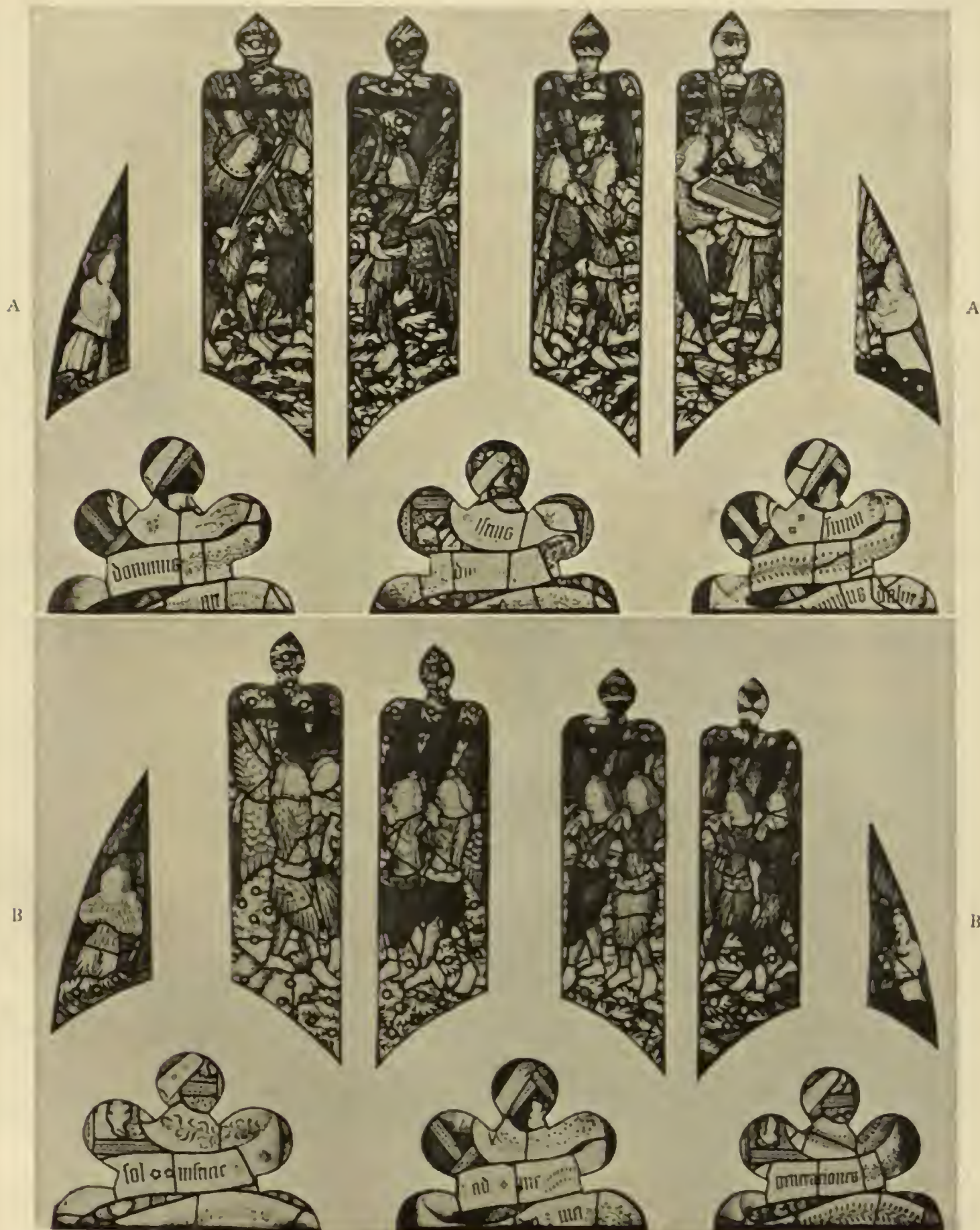
The east window is divided into three main compartments, the middle one being subdivided into three lower lights and the others into two each. Above these seven lights there arises naturally according to the perpendicular design a series of fourteen smaller ones, and through the glass of these runs a series of fourteen zigzag scrolls.

The six side windows are all of one design, that is as far as the architecture is concerned. They are symmetrically placed, three in the north and three in the south wall, and each has six equal lower lights. The upper parts are subdivided mainly into ten smaller lights, and the music in these, as in the east window, is painted on a series of scrolls in zigzag.

Dealing with the windows in detail, I begin with the sides. The pair of windows nearest the east contains no music scrolls, and therefore need not detain us, though as regards mere glass work they were probably the finest thing in the chapel. Most of the lights are occupied by saints, angels, and cherubs, playing on various musical instruments. (Plates XCV. and XCVI.)

We come next to the middle pair of side windows. These contain scrolls held by numerous small figures, presumably singing the words and music inscribed on them.





BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK. WINDOW III. (EAST END, NORTH SIDE)

AA. Western part.

BB. Eastern part.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909*







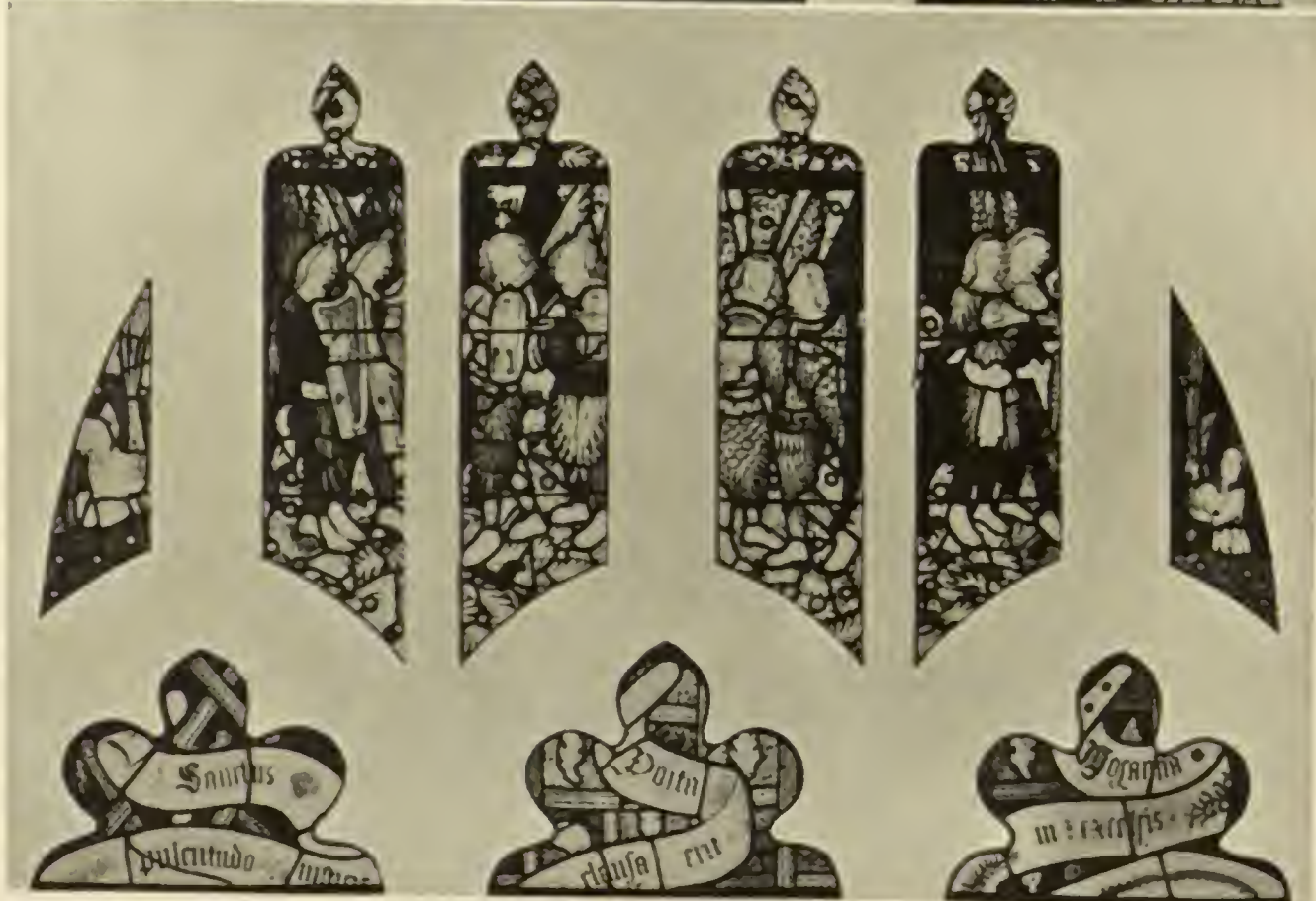


A



A

B



B

BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK. WINDOW IV. (EAST END, SOUTH SIDE)

AA. Eastern part

BB. Western part

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909

First I take the scrolls in the north window (Plate XCVII). There can be no question that these are substantially in their original condition. They contain the words and music of the antiphon "Gaudemus," which forms the first part of the introit appointed by the Salisbury and the Roman Graduals to be used for the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. In the Salisbury Gradual, which would be the use for the middle and south of England at the time of the making of the windows, and was expressly directed by the founder's will for the daily masses ordained by him in the chapel, we find the same words and music prescribed also for the feasts of the Conception, the Nativity, and the Visitation of the Virgin, the word "assumptione" being of course replaced by that appropriate to the particular occasion. So that the fitness of this piece of music for a chapel dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary is obvious.

The glass containing these scrolls has evidently been cracked and patched together in places, and the notes have no doubt been more or less renovated. I have noticed one or two places where the body of a note has in fact disappeared, and its existence is only indicated by the marks of the enamel still adhering to the glass. Some of the fine lines forming ligatures for connecting a group of notes into a single syllable have also become invisible, and consequently there might be some difficulty in making a correct transcript directly from the glass, even with the aid of photographs and opera glasses, which was my own *modus operandi*. From the floor of the chapel I found the contents of the scrolls practically invisible to the naked eye.\*

However, here (fig. 1) is the result of my collation of the scrolls with a MS. gradual of the thirteenth century according to the use of Sarum in the Bodleian Library.<sup>b</sup> This MS. (or part of it) has been reproduced by the Rev. W. H. Frere in his facsimile edition of the *Graduale Sarisburiense*, a work which has been of the greatest value to me in connexion with this paper.<sup>c</sup>

A point of interest to note here is that the window brings out the features of the use of Sarum (the English use) as distinguished from the use of Rome (the Continental use). The scrolls in the window are the same, word for word and note for note, as those in the Bodleian manuscript, except in a few places where there are slight defects owing apparently to miscalculations of space. Thus at the end of the word "assumpcione" on the seventh scroll (fig. 1) under the

\* The photographs here reproduced have been taken specially for *Archæologia*. Those originally used were far inferior and showed the music on an almost microscopic scale.

<sup>b</sup> Rawlinson, *Liturgies*, cl. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Published for the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society (London, 1874).



figure (1) the last note is in the middle space, G following A; whereas in the window it will be seen that the G is missing and the last note is A. In the next scroll under (2) half the b clef is cut off at the very beginning, and in the last scroll under (3) it is entirely crowded out. Again in this scroll the note which should be on the second line corresponding with the syllable "fi" is also crowded out. It is restored in the collation under the figure (4).

The figure displays ten staves of musical notation in square neumes on a four-line staff, with Latin lyrics underneath. The notation is organized into two columns. The left column contains five staves, and the right column contains five staves. The first staff in each column is the original manuscript, and the second staff is the restored version. The lyrics are: Gau - de - a - mus qui - nes in do - - mi - - no, di - em fes - tum ce - le - - bran - tes sub ho - - no - - re Ma - ri - e vir - gi - nis, de cu - jus as - sum - ei - o - ne gra - dent an - ge - - li et col - - lau - - dant fi - li - ni De - i.

Fig. 1. Collation of Gaudeamus in Window and Sarum Missal.

Perhaps I may say a word or two here to explain shortly how this old plainsong music is read. Most people are familiar with the modern system of notation on a staff of five lines and a fixed clef, and at first sight they are liable to be misled by the apparent resemblances. Even in modern plainsong the peculiarities of the system are not all preserved. For instance, where two notes one above the other are connected by a ligature (a fine vertical line) it must not be supposed that they are to be sung simultaneously. The composition is throughout a one-part melody sung by a choir in unison. When one note is placed over another it is intended that both are to be sung to the same syllable, the higher note following the lower. A group of descending notes belonging to the same syllable are similarly joined by fine lines, or run into each other, but follow diagonally. The system of notation is very simple and graphic. I think I may say it was about a hundred years old when this chapel was built, but of







BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK. WINDOW II. (MIDDLE OF NORTH SIDE)

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course the plainsong melodies were many centuries older. In this country since the Reformation their beauty seems to have been almost entirely lost sight of till recent times.

The rhythm is altogether independent of time in the musical sense, that is, as will be seen, there are no bars or regular beats. Those are characteristics of measured music. The characteristic of plainsong is that the rhythm depends on such a wedding of the music with the words as is next to impossible in a measured system.

A clef is usually a C, and is of course placed on the line indicating that note. But any line in the staff may be chosen. That is a matter of convenience according to the pitch of the melody. A melody is always confined to a compass of eight notes, or perhaps nine as in this "Gaudeamus"; so that with four lines and the corresponding five spaces, and a clef placed so to speak *ad hoc*, it can all be written without using ledger lines.

This "Gaudeamus" lies (except the preliminary note C) between D and D. D is the final note, corresponding to the tonic of a diatonic scale. In other words it is written in the first of the ecclesiastical modes, the so-called Dorian mode; neither major mode nor minor mode. On the glass the C clef is marked at the beginning of the second scroll. On all the other scrolls, except where as I have said the clef is crowded out, instead of the clef being marked on the C, the space below it contains a b, a round-bottomed b, *b rotundum*. The meaning of this is that wherever B occurs it is to be sung B flat. It makes no difference to the other notes, and does not really make any change in the clef.

And this brings us to the distinctively English characteristics of the music in the window. They occur in this second scroll and also in the fifth. The change in the marking of the clef in the second scroll seems to draw special attention to the peculiarity of the Sarum use, which in this passage consists in making the B's in the word "domino" both natural, instead of flat as they are wherever else they occur in the piece. In the modern Roman Graduals, on the other hand, the B is made flat all through without exception. I believe that until a year or so ago there was a great want of uniformity in the Roman Catholic music books, and I have only looked at one or two to verify the point we are considering, but the Rev. G. H. Palmer (who I believe speaks with most extensive knowledge) gives me to understand that in all modern versions on the Continent the B in "Gaudeamus" is, as I have stated, flat throughout, and that researches amongst ancient versions\* point to an historical origin for this reading.

\* See *Paléographie Musicale*, published by the Benedictines of Solesmes.

Then, again, in the window on the fifth scroll the note over the word "sub" is D according to Sarum, whereas according to Rome it is F.

To illustrate these points further I give (Plate XCVIII.) two pages of a Roman Gradual of the fourteenth century in the British Museum.\* These contain the whole of "Gaudeamus" with a miniature appropriately representing the Assumption. The word "sub" with the note above it on F, the second line, is at the bottom of the left-hand page, whereas in the window it is on the bottom line, D.<sup>b</sup>

Then with regard to the B, in the Roman Gradual throughout the piece there is no indication of a flat, either by using a round b clef as in the glass, or by an accidental as in the Bodleian Manuscript. In the Roman Gradual an F clef is used for the first three lines and a C clef for the rest.

It is true that on the face of it this does not show that the old Roman use was, as is the modern Roman use, to sing B flat throughout, but it does show, and I think this is really more to the point, that the Roman use did not, as the Salisbury use did, make a clear distinction between the B's over "domino" and the other B's. My own idea is, but how far supported by authority I cannot say, that there must have been, even in the fourteenth century, owing to the growing sense of modern tonality, a tendency to sing B flat as a rule in any piece in the first mode, whether it was marked flat or not. From a modern, that is a diatonic point of view, the first mode is a near approach to the minor mode of the key of D. Now in the ascending scale of D minor the B may be taken as a natural, but then it must be followed by C sharp, and it must be remembered that C sharp was never used in the old plainsong. B flat was the solitary instance of a black note or accidental. On the other hand C natural, which is used in plainsong, may be sung in a descending scale of D minor, but then it must be followed by B flat. To follow it with B natural produces to a modern ear a most distressing result. When I was learning scales on the piano it used to bring down also a severe rap on the knuckles. Hence my own private feelings would lead me to conclude that in sticking to B natural for the word "domino" the English musicians did more credit to their toughness as contemporaries of Cressy and Agincourt than to their sense of musical tonality. In this, however, as my friends Mr. Goldsmith and

\* Add. MSS. 18198.

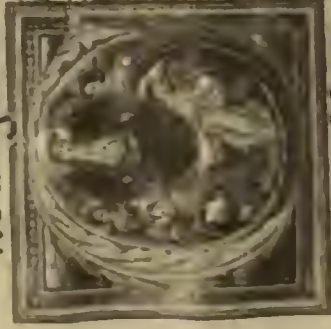
<sup>b</sup> Another point of divergence between the Roman and English uses is here illustrated in a very striking way. The word "beate" before "Marie," which is now I believe quite established as part of the Roman version, is here seen in the form of an obvious interpolation at the bottom of the left-hand page of the manuscript (Plate XCVIII).



eter nipi tris fili um.

¶ Hic assuptionis scē ma-  
rie uirginis. Introitus.

cxxi.



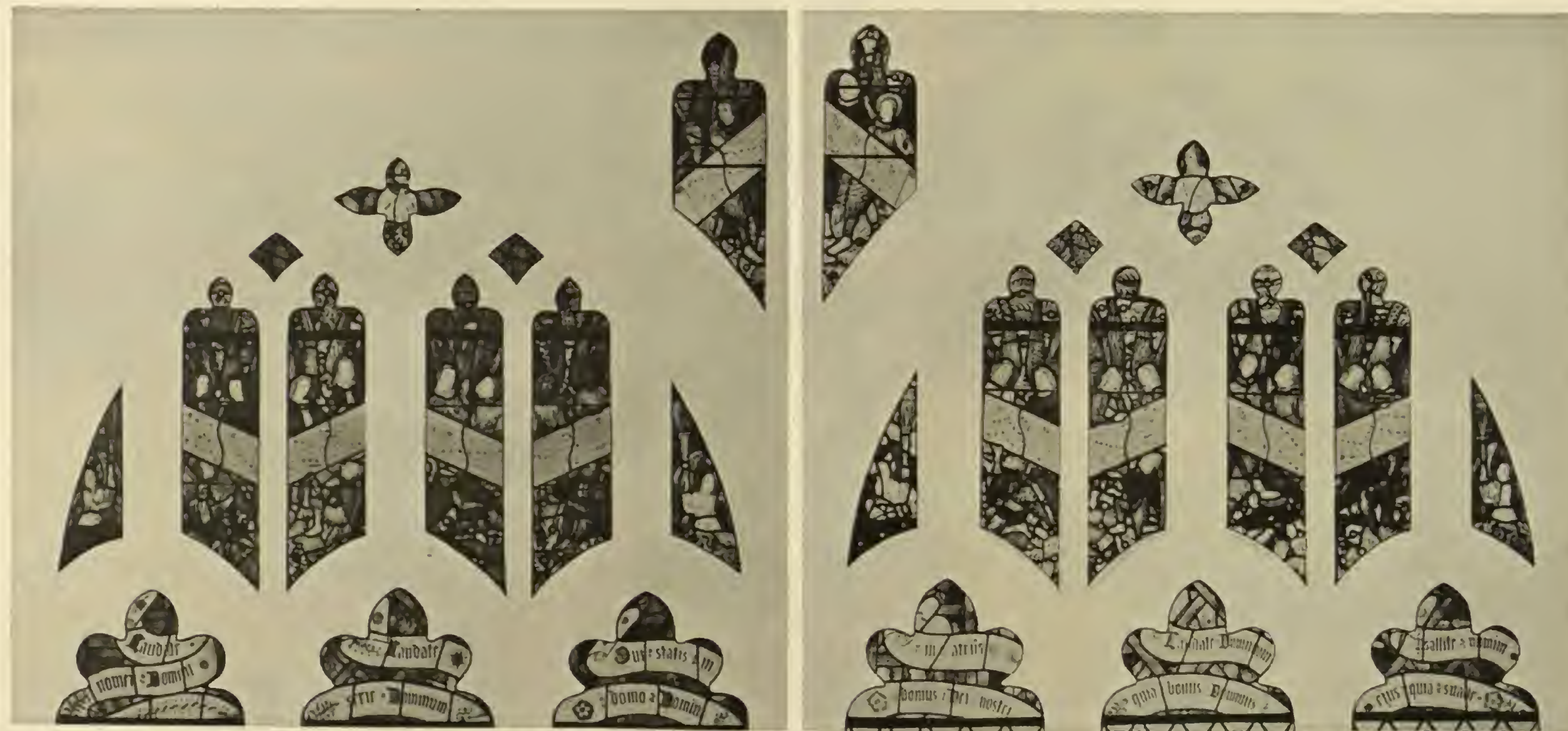
mi no diem festum cele-  
brantes sub dono re beat

marie uirginis decui  
assumptio ne gaudet in  
ge li et collau dunt  
fi lium de i. p. ¶ Eru-  
antur cor meū uerbiū bo-  
nū. dico ego opera mea









BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK. WINDOW V. (MIDDLE OF SOUTH SIDE)

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1900*





Mr. Falconer will demonstrate to you, I should be entirely wrong. While they are singing the introit according to the use of Sarum I will ask you to note the details of the glass work, particularly the elaborate finish of the scrolls and the way in which the hands of the little figures are made to fit into the edges.

I should explain that the whole of the introit will be sung, that is, first the antiphon "Gaudeamus" (as on the glass), then follows the Psalm "Eructavit" and Gloria Patri, then the antiphon is repeated.\*

Now we turn to the corresponding window on the south side of the chapel. The glass here (Plate XCIX.) is of the same design as the north window. We have the little figures bearing ten scrolls arranged as before, but the scrolls have been filled with modern five-lined staves, with notes, but without words. We may call them notes and perhaps plainsong notes, but there is no music in them. If, in the absence of clefs, we can say there is sound, we must add further that there is "sound and fury signifying nothing."

We need not spend time in examining these scrolls. They are obviously merely a piece of modern decoration. The glass in which they are painted can also be seen to be modern as compared with that in the opposite window. The edges are clean cut and rarely fit into the singers' hands. Every scroll consists of two nearly equal pieces, regularly joined and entirely free from cracks and patching.

In the remaining two windows, those at the west end of the north and south walls, we find that the scrolls are of a similar character. The notes and symbols are of somewhat different varieties, but they are as devoid of musical significance as those in the window we have just left. In the setting of the scrolls, however, there is an obvious difference. There are no figures. The backgrounds consist of nothing but a *mêlée* of old broken glass.

Now the statements about the contents of the upper lights of these two windows made by Bloxam in 1844 and by Nichols in 1838 (for we have no description earlier than Nichols) are curiously inconsistent with each other and with the present situation of the glass. But assuming, as I think we must, that these writers have slipped into some slight inaccuracies in noting the relative positions of the windows, one would conclude that there had been no change in the backgrounds since 1838. In that case I should suggest that the destruction of the tracery glass in these two western windows was due to the lead being melted by the fire which in 1694 we know destroyed the body of the church and stopped short at this point.

\* At this point the whole of the introit was sung through as stated.



However this may be, and however much our authorities may differ as to the position of the damaged glass at different times, they both support two conclusions, which are arrived at by Winston: first, that the general design of the glass in the western windows was originally the same as that still existing in the two middle windows, figures bearing scrolls; and secondly, that the scrolls in the middle north window, where is now the "Gandeanus," were the only ones which in Winston's time (1864) contained any original writing, or indeed from 1838 to that time any writing at all. Therefore there can be no doubt that the present three sets of dummy scrolls have been inserted since 1864. From what Winston says, it seems too almost certain that in his time the original scrolls remained in the middle south window, but were in a much worse condition than those opposite, and had lost all but the mere traces of the words and music. This may perhaps be accounted for by their exposure to the heat of the sun and the drift of the rain and south-west wind.

The question now arises what were the original contents of these three sets of scrolls? I believe we have in the chapel the remains of what was in one of them, and consequently a clue to what was in the others.

In the scrolls of the east window (Plate C.) there are certain fragments of old glass which we shall find have clearly been interpolated there. There are six of these fragments. Four of them are passages of three or four notes without clefs or words, and of them I can make nothing. But the other two have significance. One of them has the words "pro nobis," with the six notes above them on the piece of glass which forms the first half of the ninth scroll, that is, the third in the left-hand compartment. The other is simply the word "semper." This is on the piece of glass at the very end of the last scroll.

With these clues I have made a search through numerous manuscript and printed copies of the Sarum gradual and antiphoner, with the result that I have found the identical phrase "pro nobis" with its notes as they appear here in two, and only two, places. They occur in two antiphons of the Blessed Virgin, "Ave Regina" and "Regina Cœli."

Now "Ave Regina" in the Sarum antiphoner, differing in this respect from the Roman, or at least the modern Roman use, also contains the word "semper." There is no "semper" at all in "Regina Cœli." Moreover, "Ave Regina" is just the right length to fill the ten scrolls, while "Regina Cœli" would only fill about two-thirds. Here then (fig. 2) is "Ave Regina" extracted from an *Antiphonale ad Usam Sarisburiensem* published at Paris 1519-20.\* I have transcribed it and cut

\* At fol. xlix. of vol. 2, part 2.

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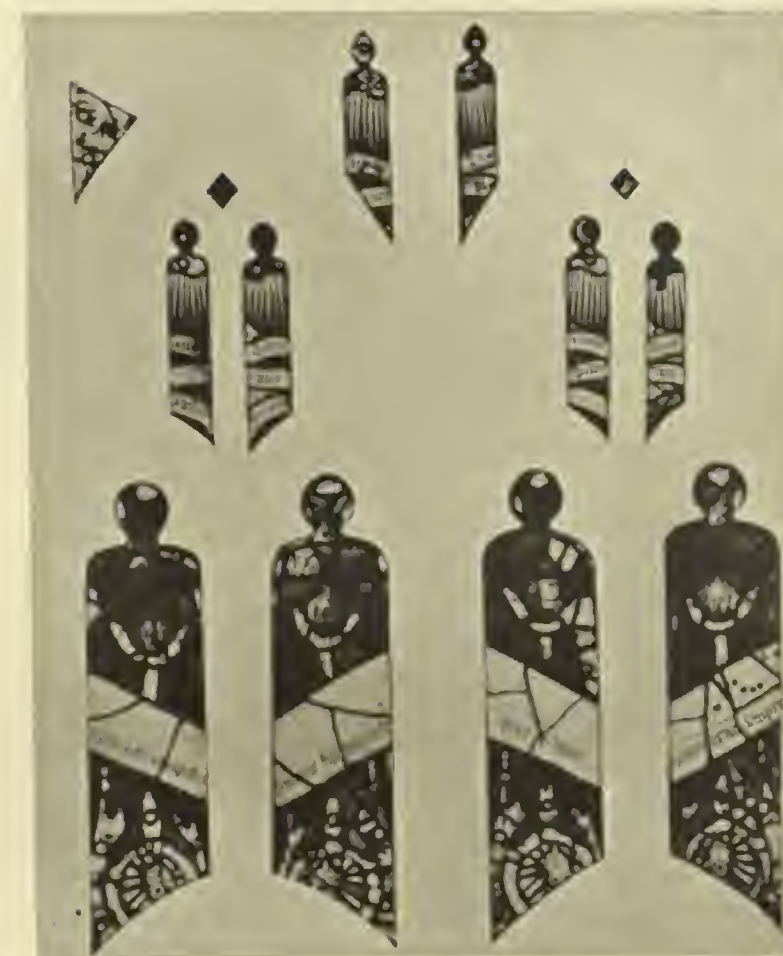
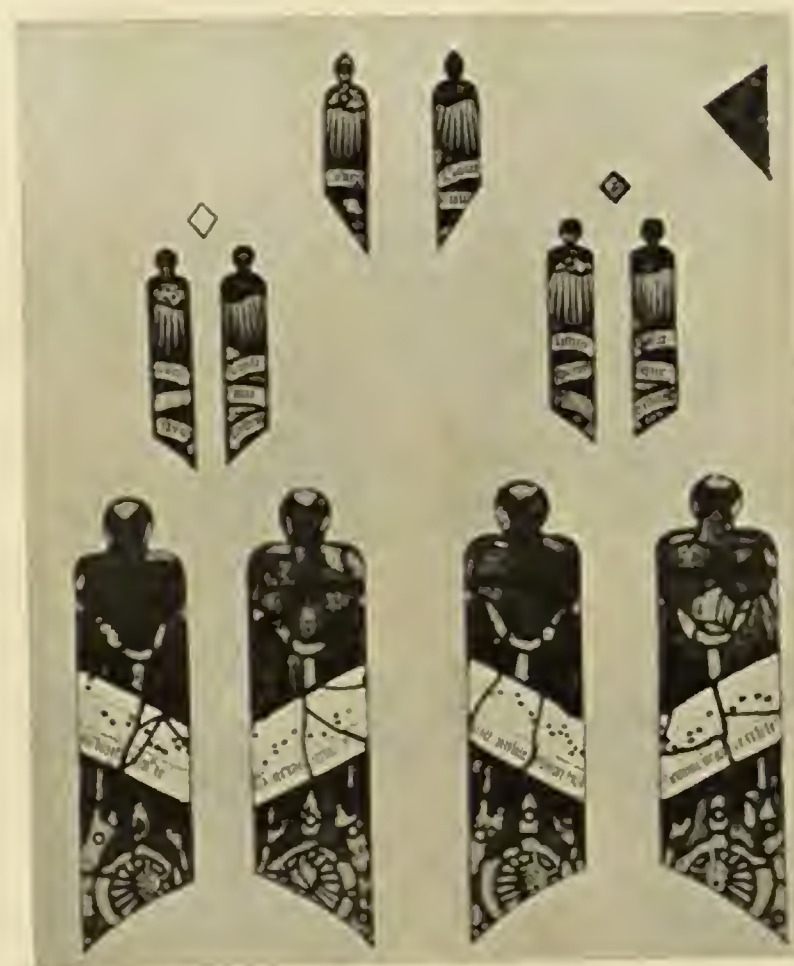
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\* At fol. xlix. of vol. 2, part 2.





BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK. UPPER PART OF EAST WINDOW

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1909*





it up into ten pieces so as to show how it would fit into the design of the window. It seems to me an obviously suitable piece for the chapel, and to make a good match with the antiphon still extant in the north middle window.

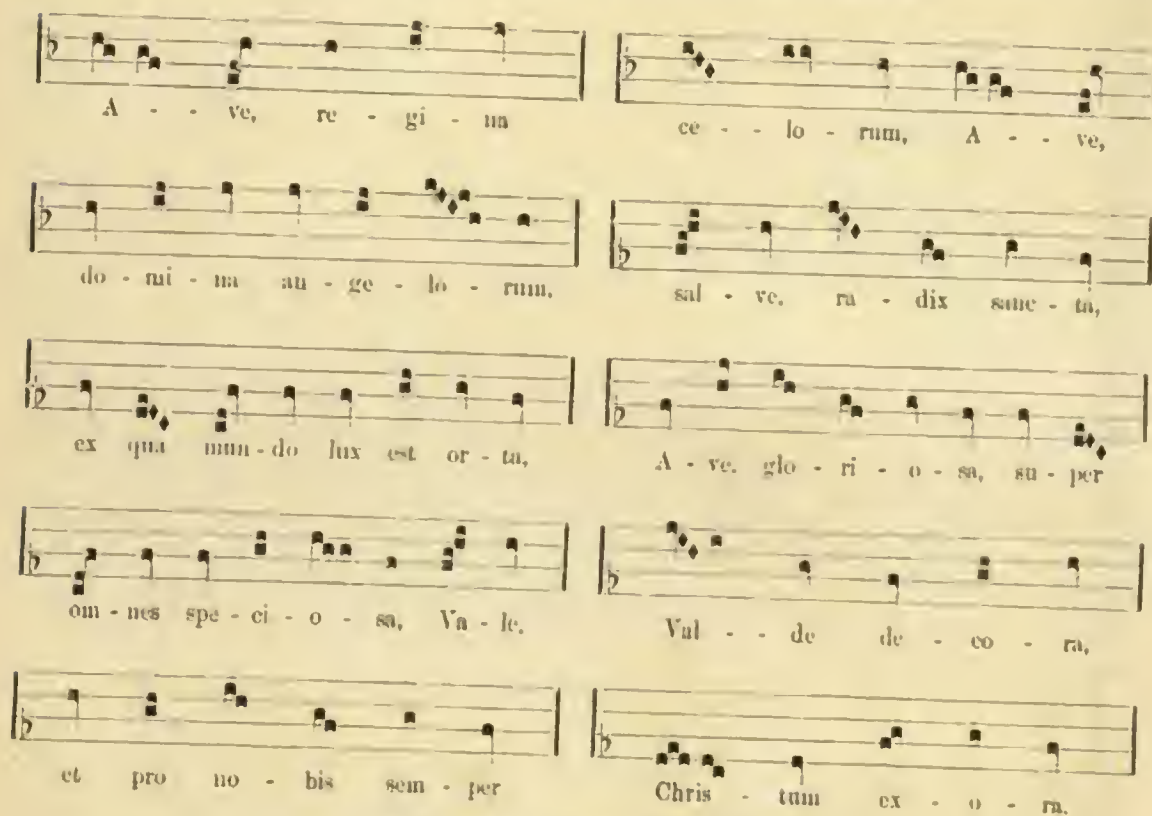


Fig. 2. Ave Regina from Sarum Antiphoner.

As to the music originally in the two remaining side windows there is nothing that I can find in the glass in the shape of a definite clue; but there is a passage in Dugdale which, if my interpretation of it is correct, has a bearing on all the side windows. The passage occurs immediately after he has quoted the contract for the glass, which clearly related to the whole of the windows. It contains a gap or hiatus, and is so printed in all three editions of his *Warwickshire*, 1656, 1730, and 1765. It runs thus: "It appeareth that after these windows [by which he means all the windows] were so finished [that is, according to the contract], the Executors devised some alterations, as to add ——— for our [or "Saint"] lady, and scripture of the marriage of the Earl, and procured the same to be set forth in the glass in most fine and curious colours."

Now in Hamper's own copy of his edition of Dugdale (that is the edition of 1765) which is in the British Museum, he has inserted numerous manuscript additions, and he supplies this gap with a word which he writes "goudes." This he takes from Archer's transcript of the original document (a transcript which it seems not unlikely was used by Dugdale instead of the original). It is clear that there was a doubt as to the reading of this word, and probably neither Dugdale nor Archer nor Hamper took much trouble to understand it. I think there can be little doubt it should be read "gaudes," which was probably pronounced *goudes*, and so may have been sometimes spelt with an "o." It is clear from Godefroi and the *New English Dictionary* that *gaude* or rather the plural *gaudez* (for it is remarkable that in the citations the word always appears vaguely in the plural) was used in the medieval French, and probably in English, in the sense, and I almost think I may say in a somewhat contemptuous sense, of a liturgical passage, exactly what kind of liturgical passage it seems impossible to say. The dictionary definitions, from Cotgrave (1611) downwards, are remarkably various and lacking in definition. Cotgrave<sup>a</sup> says, "prayers beginning with a *gaudele*"; Oudin,<sup>b</sup> "a prayer said hurriedly and without attention"; Littré, "a prayer said in church"; Godefroi, "a sort of antiphon"; and the *New English Dictionary* says "a prayer beginning with *gaude*." But even this obvious etymological explanation is rendered doubtful by Du Cange. He gives an instance of the Latin *gaudia*, the plural of *gaudium*, clearly applied to prayers chanted in a church.<sup>c</sup>

Hence, the most probable conclusion seems to be that the term was a distinctively vague and comprehensive one, and included anything more or less cheerful, short, and familiar in the form of prayer or praise, and that, whatever may have been its verbal origin, it was not confined in actual use to pieces commencing with the word *gaude*.

Thus, it would be applicable both to the "Gaudeamus" in the north middle window and to the "Ave Regina" which I have supposed to be in a second window. Further, we may conclude that the traceries of the remaining two windows were also the subject of the alteration quoted by Dugdale, and so were filled in the same way as the others with choirs singing *gaudes*, that is hymns, antiphons, or what not, in honour of the Virgin to whom the chapel is dedicated.

<sup>a</sup> English-French Dictionary.

<sup>b</sup> French-Italian Dictionary, 1674.

<sup>c</sup> It is curious that while he really, though erroneously, identifies it with *Ave Maria*, he actually calls it an *Ave Regina*, the very antiphon to which I am now proposing to apply it.



I have tried to apply a test to this theory by means of what Dugdale says was the cost of these alterations. It is not conclusive, but it seems worth mentioning. The cost of the alterations, including the "scripture of the marriage of the earl," was £13 6s. 8d., that is, a round sum of 20 marks. Now we know that according to the original contract the price was 2s. per foot; therefore £13 6s. 8d. would be equal to 133 feet 4 inches. According to Archer's manuscript, as transcribed by Hamper in his interleaved Dugdale, there were from 30 to 32 feet used in the upper part of each of the side windows.\* This would make about 124 feet for the four, and to make up the total of 133 odd we have about 10 feet to attribute to the "scripture of the marriage of the earl."

Now what was this "scripture"? None of our historians, Dugdale, Gough, Britton, Bloxam, or Nichols, has attempted to explain it. Winston is the only one who mentions it. He casually refers it to the writing under the figures of the earl and his two wives and children, which Dugdale tells us were in the east window. But these writings, as appears from Dugdale's plate, contained merely the titles, parentage, and so on of the various persons represented. Except those under the effigies of his two wives, they had no particular reference to either marriage of the earl. Even if the words had been "marriages," it would have been a strange way of referring to these inscriptions.

My theory is that the "scripture of the marriage of the earl" refers to the inscribed ribbon scrolls which run through the twenty-four little spaces in the uppermost part of the east window (Plate C.).

Winston reads on each pair of scrolls, as if it were a single motto, the words "Lonez Spencer, tant que vyvray" ("Praise ye Spencer, as long as I shall live"), and calls it "the Founder's motto in allusion to his marriage with a lady who eventually became heiress to the great Despencer family." Let me add that, as she survived her husband, she or her son, the earl's successor, doubtless had a say in the alterations we are now considering, a say great in proportion to the greatness of her family. Winston does not seem to have noticed that the capital letter with which the word "Tant" begins indicates a second sentence. It seems to me that what we really have is a pair of mottoes. The lady says, "Lonez Spencer" (Praise Spencer), and the husband chivalrously replies, "Tant que vyvray" (Yes, I will as long as I live). This pair of mottoes seems to have been

\* Owing to the adjoining small chamber and a turret staircase, it seems that the west window in the north wall always contained less glass than the others, but the obstruction affects mainly the lower lights only.

repeated in all the six pairs of ribbons over the north and south compartments, although in most places the word "taut" now appears as "tont."<sup>a</sup> This, I believe, is due to an erroneous restoration, *tout que vyrray* (all I shall live) being, to the best of my knowledge and information, not French at all. The word *tont* was probably copied by the restorer from another sentence, which Nichols reads "Tout que porray lone Spencer" (With all my power I praise Spencer). In this we may be supposed to hear the voice of the architect or the building itself. The word *porray* seems to have disappeared since Nichols's time, and in other places it has probably been renovated into *vyrray*, copied from the other motto. *Tout que vyrray* as well as *lone Spencer* can now be read in several of the pairs of scrolls over the middle compartant. It is rather curious that, though "lone" is written with a small "l," Nichols refers to this pair of sentences as two mottoes, "the mottoes of the earl and his countess Isabel."

But whatever the exact syntax of the various sentences may be, it is clear that there was on the twenty-four ribbons, if not a grammatical interchange of mottoes between the husband and wife, at least such a reference to the Spencer family as may fairly be called a "scripture of the marriage of the earl."

Now as to the quantity of glass in these twenty-four small lights, I find it impossible to be exact, but judging from the drawings of Britton and Mr. Brank-spear, we shall not be far out, I believe, in putting the total at 10 feet. We already have 124 as the total of the four "gaudes," and the two together would thus be 134 feet. The cost of the alterations given by Dugdale, being a round sum of 20 marks, is equivalent, at 2s. a foot, as I have said, to 133 feet 4 inches; so that if our theory is correct there would only be a discrepancy of 8 inches between the quantity of glass and the round sum charged.

We now come to the music of the east window.

To a certain extent this is a very easy problem. There can be no doubt about what was originally in the whole of the scrolls, though only about half of the original glass is left. As in the case of the side windows, those nearest the south and farthest from the shelter of the chancel of the church seem to have suffered most.

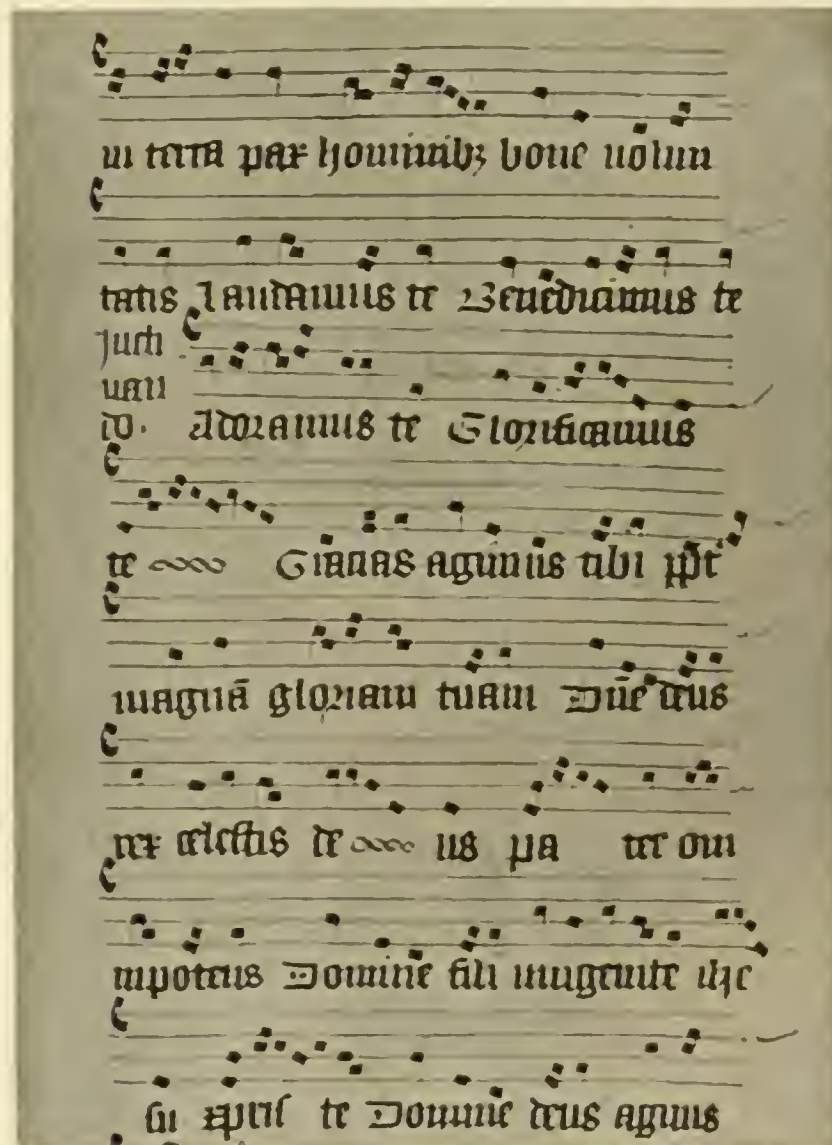
<sup>a</sup> In the light of the enlarged photographs taken since the paper was written, I feel bound to point out that there are only two places where one could now suggest the reading "*Tant*." These, however, both have the appearance of age, and their very illegibility may be taken as indicating the liability to error in the process of restoration.







A



B

BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK. The Gloria originally in the East Window, from a 15th cent.MS.

A. The opening of the Warwick Gloria in the initial letter of another Gloria.

B. The continuation of the Warwick Gloria.



The words and music began in the six scrolls over the middle compartment, and continued lower down through the four scrolls on the north and then through the four on the south (Plate C.).

In the words as they stand we recognize readily the "Gloria in Excelsis" down to the words "Domine Dens," taken out of the missal: "Gloria in excelsis Deo, Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis. Laudamus te, Benedicimus te, Adoramus te, Glorificamus te, Gracias agimus tibi *pro nobis* [in place of *propter magnam*] gloriam tuam, Domine deus, rex celestis, Dens pater omnipotens, Domine, fili unigenite, Jesu Christe, Domine deus *semper* [in place of *Agnus dei*]."

There are four scrolls which contain their original words and music intact. These are No. 5, No. 7, No. 8, and No. 10. Also in the latter half of No. 9, "glorium tuam" and the notes are original, and in the middle of the last scroll the second syllable of "dens" is original with a note and a half above it.

These remains are quite sufficient to identify the fragments of the Gloria as they stand note for note with the original in the Sarum gradual. It is the first of the two settings prescribed as alternatives "in omnibus festis majoribus duplicibus," for all the greater double feasts. Here it is (or rather the bulk of it), reproduced (Plate CI. B) from a fifteenth-century manuscript gradual of Sarum use in the British Museum.\* By omitting the first line (which occurs at the bottom of the left-hand column of the same page) I have been able to reproduce the rest of the Gloria on a larger scale. The illustration shows all the contents of the gradual corresponding with the window scrolls, so far as they are *in situ*, from "in terra" to the end of the music.

The words and music of the first line appear in the other illustration, which shows a miniature from a previous page of the same gradual (Plate CI. A). This miniature is interesting for more than one reason. First I must point out that it is placed at the head, not of the particular setting of "Gloria in Excelsis" of which it contains the opening, but at the head of the first "Gloria" in the Gradual. In other words it is used as a chapter or heading for the "Glorias" as a whole. That seems to indicate its popularity, and so to account for its being chosen for the window.

Another indication of its popularity is the fact that the first seven notes of it were adopted by Marbeck for the opening of "Glory be to God on high" in his

\* Lansdowne 462 at fo. 94.

*Book of Common Prayer noted*, issued after the Reformation in 1550 under Edward VI. Here are the two side by side (fig. 3):

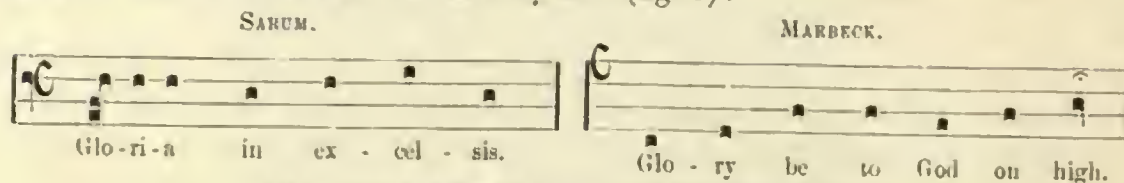


Fig. 3. Collation of Sarum "Gloria" and "Glory be" in Marbeck.

Then, again, the design of the miniature, a cherub and an angel bearing the scroll of music, is extremely suggestive of the designs in the windows. The resemblance in detail is perhaps most clearly seen in some of the figures playing instruments (Plate XCVI.). Here our attention is drawn to one of the characteristic features of fifteenth-century glass, the excessive miniature-like detail and shallow colouring, in which the breadth and harmonious richness of the earlier period are lost, while the fine artistic effects of the sixteenth century are not yet attained.

Going back to the window we have now to account for the interpolations which occur in eight of the scrolls.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 will require some discussion. The others may first be rapidly disposed of.

In No. 4 "*Laudamus te*" appears to be a mere substitution of the words, with a modern stave, but without any attempt to replace the notes.

In No. 6 the words "*adoramus te*" are probably original, but the original notes have been replaced by others. I have not identified these, but they are doubtless old. We must assume they are a fragment of one of the lost scrolls in the side windows.

In the first half of No. 9 we ought to have the words "*propter magnam*" with their notes. The words "*pro nobis*" with their notes are evidently wrongly inserted. They have nothing to do with the *Gloria in Excelsis*. This is the piece of glass which I have used as a clue to the "*Ave Regina*" which I have supposed to be originally in one of the side windows.

In Nos. 11, 12, and 13 we have restorations of the words with blank staves as in No. 4.\*

In No. 14 the first half is also modern, but, as I have already said, the latter half of "*deus*" with the music over it is original. Then we come to the word "*semper*," which is evidently substituted for "*Agnus dei*." There can be no

\* Looking at these scrolls and the first part of the next one closely, as shown in the present photographs, one may doubt whether they are not original, the notes only having disappeared.



doubt it is a piece of old glass from one of the other windows. In fact I have identified it as also belonging to the "Ave Regina" in one of the side windows.

Now the only remaining point is the contents of Scrolls 1, 2, and 3.

This is a problem of a different kind from those we have already dealt with. First of all, instead of a single stave, we have a pair of staves which would indicate a two-part melody or a melody with a discant. Then the music is not plainsong, but written in measured notation on five-lined staves. This kind of music dates back as far as the period of the chapel, but compared with plainsong it was then a modern invention, though I believe coming rapidly into vogue. Division into bars was not used, but the various forms of notes had definite relations of time value, and these were of special importance in working out a composition in two or more parts.

That the first two scrolls have been cut down to fit into this window is clear from the way in which they have been interfered with in order to shape them into the diagonal position required by the zigzag design. It will be seen that the two musical parts are allowed to start fairly together in the first scroll, but the lower stave is cut off by the mullion earlier than the upper one. Thus some of its notes as well as the last two letters of "excelsis" are crowded out. The same happens to the word "terra" and the upper stave in the second scroll. It is clear also from Nichols, who transcribes the words, that in his time (1838) these scrolls were then as they are now, and that the third scroll has been inserted since.

I think there can be no doubt that the three scrolls have been the subject of a rash attempt to supersede the original plainsong "gloria," or rather a part of it, by a more modern setting, and that the attempt was abandoned at the end of the second scroll. At that point it is obvious that not even by chopping off the ends of every few words could the new music be fitted into the allotted spaces. The words in the third scroll have to be squeezed so close together as to render the idea of adding the musical accompaniment quite hopeless.

The question of the origin of the first and second scrolls, though a difficult one, seems to me of some interest. I see no reason to doubt that they are genuine old glass. There is no attempt to imitate anything else in the chapel. As to the words, the capital letters are distinguished from those in the other scrolls by yellow stain, but this was invented long before the middle of the fifteenth century, and continued to be used in this way long after.

As to the music itself, the cutting down of the glass, the shadows cast by the wire guard outside the windows, the uncertainty as to how far the notes which appear to be semibreves are really minims which have lost their tails, and again,

whether the glazier has copied his model correctly in distinguishing between full and void notes, are all matters which make a transcript a hazardous affair. If the notes were written or even printed there would be something to guide one as to their age, but, as it is, their mere shape leaves a wide field for conjecture. As far as my researches go, I should say the model might have been a manuscript as old as the fourteenth century, such as those reproduced by Stainer in *Dufay and his Contemporaries*, or as modern as 1650. The *Carols* edited by Mr. Fuller Maitland from the Roll in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, would be at least fifty years old when the chapel was finished.

However, here is my humble attempt at a transcript (fig. 4). In order to make the two parts run together in point of time I have conjecturally "restored," so to speak, tails to certain notes. These are indicated by asterisks. In other cases I have made a distinction between void and full notes, that is between minims and crotchets, which does not appear in the glass, unless indeed it is shown by colour, a point on which one can vouch nothing. All the notes appear against the light both black and solid.



Fig. 4. Collation of Warwick and Fairford Glorias.

I confess that to my incompetent mind the music as transcribed seems far from harmonious, if not radically absurd. It occurs to me that it might be put right by assuming that one of the clefs has somehow been misplaced.



Side by side with this transcript I have copied what seems to be a piece of somewhat similar work in one of the lights of the east window in the well-known church of Fairford in Gloucestershire. The subject is "Christ entering Jerusalem." Over the gateway is a group of young men singing from a scroll on which is this opening of the Palm Sunday Processional, familiar in English as "All glory, laud, and honour." This copy is taken from the reproduction of the window by the Arundel Society in the monograph on the windows by the Rev. J. G. Joyce.<sup>a</sup> Therefore I do not vouch for its complete accuracy. It is, however, obvious that the music here given is entirely different from the plain-song setting of the hymn given in the Salisbury Gradual, as edited by Mr. Frere from an early thirteenth-century manuscript,<sup>b</sup> and the Rev. G. H. Palmer, Mr. Frere's colleague in that work, tells me that none of the other plainsong settings of the hymn has any resemblance to it.

My acquaintance with the Fairford windows is little more than an accident, but the comparison with Warwick may seem worth making because in a way the two places were closely connected. Fairford was one of the manors which came to the Beauchamp family by the marriage of the founder of the Beauchamp Chapel with the heiress of the Despencers. On the other hand it is well known that the Beauchamps were not the authors of the Fairford windows, which were placed in the church under the will of John Tame soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century, the east window being the latest of the series. The date I gather was about 1530.<sup>c</sup>

Leaving now the question of the *provenance* of our two scrolls in a position of doubt, we come to a point of a fair degree of certainty. Unless the composition is of later date than the middle of the seventeenth century (and that seems extremely improbable) the fact that it is in two parts would show that it was not taken from a mass. In all original compositions of mass music down to that date, I believe I may safely say that the words "Gloria in excelsis Deo" were left to be intoned by the celebrant alone according to the directions in the missal, and the choir, as in the early days of plainsong, only came in at the words "Et in terra."

This being so, I venture to suggest that the composition of which we have here a fragment was a setting of the biblical portion of the "Gloria," so much, that is, as occurs in the text of St. Luke ("Gloria in excelsis deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis"). This is suggested by the peculiar spacing of the

<sup>a</sup> *The Fairford Windows* (1872).

<sup>b</sup> British Museum Add. 12194.

<sup>c</sup> Winston, *Enquiry, etc.* (2nd edition, 1867), 131; Joyce, *Fairford Windows* (1872), pp. 74 and 132.

third and fourth scrolls. According to the original plainsong the convenient arrangement would be to put "pax hominibus bonæ" in the third scroll and "voluntatis, Laudamus te" in the fourth. If this was the original arrangement, and it was desired to alter the part down to "voluntatis," all four scrolls would have to be taken out, the new music would have to be crammed into the first three, and "Laudamus te" would be left at large in scroll four. This just accords with what we see. In scrolls one and two pieces are chopped off, and in scroll three the crowding is excessive, while in scroll four the space is more than ample.

It seems therefore that we may have here a fragment of a genuine old setting of the Song of the Angels to the Shepherds, brought to the chapel as part of the wreck or salvage from some other ancient building. The text I imagine would be a favourite theme for musical composers in the early days of polyphonic music. I have tried to find instances of this, but the result of a long search has only been the discovery of two. One is in four parts in a manuscript of Dr. John Cooper, apparently of the time of Queen Mary, in the British Museum,<sup>a</sup> and the other is in nine parts by Andreas Pevernage, who died in 1589 at Antwerp, where most of his compositions were printed. His setting appears in rather a striking form. It is part of an engraving by John Sadeler after an elaborate drawing by Martin Vos, dated at Mainz in 1587. It represents nine angels appearing in the clouds, and each one is singing from a separate scroll or tablet with one of the nine parts of the song written on it.<sup>b</sup> For all I know such compositions may have been very common, and there may be some one here who knows all about them. I need scarcely say, in concluding this paper, that on this point, as on any other on which I have touched, I should welcome any remarks which would enlighten my ignorance.

<sup>a</sup> Add. MSS. 17802, fo. 108.

<sup>b</sup> The whole score is printed in *Repertorium Musicæ Antiquæ*, edited by John Bishop and J. Warren, 1848. A print of the engraving is in the British Museum.



# APPENDIX.

Having now disposed of the tracery of all the windows we turn to the subject of the lower lights. We shall most readily find a clue to their contents if we go back to the west end of the chapel and decipher the fragmentary inscriptions which still remain in the cusped heads. In order to make the matter clear, we shall have to keep before us also the present contents of the lower part of the east window. I therefore insert here a diagram of this (fig. 5), kindly made by Mr. Harold Brakspear. It may be compared with the view of the window in Plate XCIV., for which I am indebted to Mr. Harold Baker.

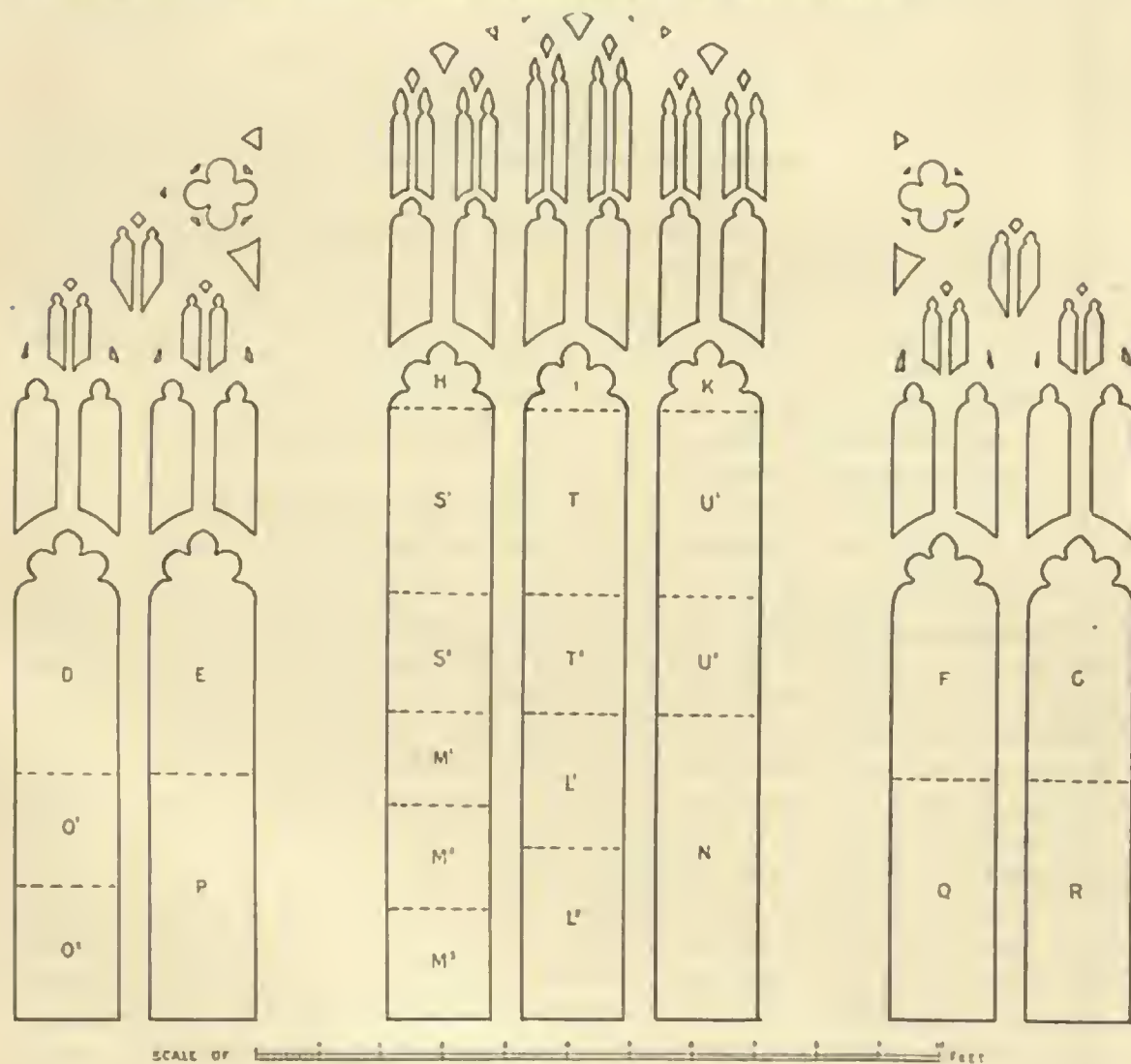


Fig. 5. Diagram of the east window of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.

D : St. Thomas of Canterbury.

E : St. Alban.

F : St. Winifred.

G : St. John of Bridlington.

H : Red back ground with rays of glory (see Plate C.).

I : Blue " " " "

K : Red " " " "

L<sup>1</sup> : A part of the figure of Richard Beauchamp, the founder, with a woman's head facing to left of spectator. L<sup>2</sup>: Fragments.

M<sup>1</sup>: Head of Christ; M<sup>2</sup>: Shoulders of another figure; M<sup>3</sup>: Remains of a third figure.

N : Head and body of the Virgin Mary facing to left.

O<sup>1</sup>: Upper part of a figure with a blank scroll; O<sup>2</sup>: Lower part of another figure.

P : Figure with a scroll inscribed " —t non aperietur."

[In Winston's time this was in space T<sup>1</sup>.]

Q : Figure with yellow nimbus, white curly hair and beard, and illegible scroll facing to right.

R : Figure with slouched hat and scroll inciribed " Exurge Deus," " Exurge Deus" upside down, and " Sca parcs," facing to left.

S<sup>1</sup>: Female figure with a scroll inscribed " Unde hoc veniat ut mater dñi; (St. Elizabeth) S<sup>2</sup>: Lower part of another figure with inscription underneath, " scs / Thomas [? Jeremias] 3° Ca°."

T<sup>1</sup>: Upper part of figure with scroll " Pariet filium et voc." [this figure since Winston's time has changed its place from P]; T<sup>2</sup>: Lower part of the same figure with inscription underneath, " Isaias A° C . ."

U<sup>1</sup>: Upper part of Virgin Mary with scroll included " Ecce enim ex hoc beata . . . me "; U<sup>2</sup>: Lower part of another figure with inscription underneath " Amos Ca° I°."

S<sup>1</sup>, T<sup>1</sup>, and U<sup>1</sup> are also shown on Plate C.

In the subjoined diagram of the side windows the top of the page is east, the bottom west, the left side north, and the right side south. The Roman figures refer to the windows starting from the west or the north side, and ending at the west or the south. The Arabic numerals refer to the lower lights running as before from left to right. The Latin words are the remains of the inscriptions as they now appear in the heads of the lower lights.

The fragments of inscriptions in Window I. are obvious repetitions of those in No. II., and may be passed over as modern copies. We shall return to this window at the end of our perambulation, gathering materials for its restoration on our way.

Comparing the fragments in Window II. with the text of the Latin Vulgate, we find clear traces of a series of extracts from eight of the twelve minor prophets. Further, from the whole of the fragments in Windows II. and III., supplemented by others in the east window, we may conclude with very little doubt that nine of the lights contained figures and texts representing minor prophets, while the three remaining spaces were occupied with the subject of the Visitation, represented by the figures of the Virgin Mary, Zachariah,



and St. Elizabeth. Such a scheme as this is mentioned as probable by Winston, but he was evidently unaware of the confirmation which his suggestion would receive from carefully collating the fragments of the inscriptions with the Vulgate text.

III.						IV.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Dom- inns   ait	istius dom- us	snun   dom- inns da- bit	sol jus- tieie	ad me   Dei mei	gene- raci- ones	Lau- da- mus   de u   omen Dei	Ecce   in terra pax	[civ]itas dei   dicta sunt de te	Sanc- tus   pul- cri- tudo   justicie	Porta   clau- sa erit	Hos- anna in ex- cel- sis
II.						V.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Germ- inabit qua- si	Fons de do- mo domini- egredi- etur et	Dens de ayon rugiet et de	Et erit salva   Veniet dominus	Israel   domi- naton	Mundi sunt oculi tui ne	Lauda- te no- men Domini	Lau- date serir[ <i>sic</i> ] Dom- inum	Qui statia in domo Dom- ini	in atriis domus Dei nostri	Lau- date Dom- inum quia bonus Dom- inus	Psallite nomini ejns quia suave
I.						VI.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
No. 1. is filled with masonry. The inscriptions in the others are identical with those in 2 to 6 of No. II.						Dom- inus deus Saba- oth.	Sanc- tus	Gloria in ex- cel- sis	Dom- inus dens	Lau- danna te   Deo	Ho- san- na- in excel- sis

DIAGRAM OF LOWER LIGHTS OF SIDE WINDOWS.

Gough's transcript of the inscriptions shows that they were in his time in the same position as they are now, but from a few words which he has misread it is evident that he did not collate them with the Biblical text. Nor did Nichols or Winston; but the latter points out that they are to be interpreted as Messianic, and therefore have special appropriateness in a chapel dedicated in honour of Our Lady.

The following are the eight identifiable extracts from the minor prophets in the Biblical order in which they appear to have been originally placed. The words in square brackets are those which have disappeared; those in italics occur as indicated in a different compartment from the main part of the extract:

#### WINDOW II.

In Light 1 was Hosea x. 4: Thus judgment springeth up as hemlock in the furrows of the field. *Germinabit quasi [amaritudo iudicium super sulcos agri.]*

In Light 2 was Joel iii. 18: A fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord. *Fons de domo domini egredietur.*

In Light 3 was Amos i. 2: The Lord will roar from Sion and utter his voice from Jerusalem. *Dominus de Syon rugiet et de [Jerusalem] dabit [vocem] suam* (see Window III. 3 where, however, *suam* seems to have been altered to *suum*. Gough has no transcript of these words in III. 3, and they have probably been repainted since his time. They are given by Nichols as "dat—suum—abit.") The lower part of the figure of the prophet is now in the east window in the space marked U<sup>2</sup>. It bears underneath the word "Amos" clearly written followed by a reference which is somewhat decayed but which was no doubt originally "Ca<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup>," that is "capitulum primo."

In Light 4 was no doubt Obadiah or Jonah; but the original inscription has entirely disappeared, and the space is occupied by fragments which, as will be seen below, belong to texts from other prophets, except the word *salva*, which can only be regarded as an erroneous renovation for *salvo* belonging to the figure of Zachariah in III. 6.

In Light 5 was Micah v. 2: But thou Bethlehem Ephrata, though thou be little among the thousands of Juda, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel. [*Et tu Bethlehem Ephrata parvulus es in millibus Juda: Ex te mihi egredietur qui sit] dominator [in] Israel.* ("Dominator" has been renovated into "domination.")

In Light 6 was Habbakuk i. 13: Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil. *Mundi sunt oculi tui ne [videas malum].*

Nahum, who would precede Habbakuk, seems, as well as Zephaniah who would follow him, to have been omitted from the series.

#### WINDOW III.

In Light 1 was Haggai ii. 9: The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former saith the Lord of Hosts. [*Magna erit gloria] domus istius* (see III. 2) [*novissime plus quam prima] ait Dominus [exercituum].*

In Light 2 was Zechariah xiv. 5-9: And the Lord my God shall come and all the saints with thee . . . And the Lord shall be king over all the earth. *Et veniet dominus* (see II. 4).



[deus meus omnesque sancti cum eo] . . . . *Et erit* (see II. 4) *dominus* (see III. 3) [rex super omnem terram].

In Light 3 was Malachi iv. 2: But unto you that fear my name shall the Son of righteousness arise. [Et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum] *sol justicie* (see III. 4).

Light 4 was in all probability occupied by the figure of St. Elizabeth, which is now in the space in the east window marked S<sup>1</sup>. Of the appropriate text from Luke i. 43: Whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord should come to me? "Unde hoc [mihi] ut veniat mater domini mei *ad me*," all but the missing word "mihi," and the last three words are above the figure. The last three words (but with "dei" before "mei") are in the head of Light 5, adjoining their original place in Window III.

Light 5, it would follow, was occupied by the figure of the Virgin facing St. Elizabeth. The upper part of this is now in space U<sup>1</sup> of the east window, where there is also the beginning of the text from Luke i. 48: For behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. "Ecce enim ex hoc be[atam] me [dicent] *omnes generationes*." The last word is in Light 6 of Window III., where also was formerly according to Gough the preceding word "omnes."

In Light 6, to complete the group of the Visitation, would be placed the figure of Zachariah, standing behind Mary and facing his wife Elizabeth. The upper part of this figure is now in space R of the east window, and may be identified by the inscription on the scroll. This is at present a patchwork of three pieces, but the right hand piece has on it "sca parēs," which is clearly an ancient abbreviation for "sancta parens." Reading "salve" in the place of the words "Exurge Deus" now at the left end of the scroll (which are probably a modern replica of the inscription now placed upside down on the piece of glass in the same compartment), we have "Salve sancta parens" from the mouth of Zachariah. This is the beginning of the following non-scriptural passage which accords perfectly with the subject of the Visitation. It is used as the introit according to the Roman Missal for that festival, in the Sarum Missal for the Vigil of the Assumption, for the Espousal of the Virgin, and for daily masses for the Virgin in her Chapel from Purification (2nd Feb.) to Advent: "Salve sancta parens, enixa puerpera regem, qui coelum terramque regit, in sæcula sæculorum." ("Hail, holy mother! whose labour hath brought forth a King who rules heaven and earth for ever and ever.")

The placing of these three figures in the side windows is, I need scarcely add, in accordance with the opinion of Winston.

Having completed the restoration of the windows on the north side we pass over the east window for the present and come to No. IV. on the south side. Here, as in all the windows on this side, there is much less certainty as to the arrangement of the different subjects, as there is no doubt that all the inscriptions have been shifted from place to place and at the same time to some extent "restored." Nevertheless some of the remains are certainly authentic, and may be thought sufficient to indicate the texts which filled all the south windows as well as the western window on the north.

## WINDOW IV.

To begin with Window IV., and taking the fragments of texts as they now stand, we find, mixed with other materials, traces of what seems to have been a scheme consisting of texts with figures of three major prophets and three texts from the Psalms, all having more or less Messianic significance.

In Light No. 1 we have three fragments which do not form part of this scheme, and we shall have to suppose they belonged originally to the next window, or more probably to one of the two western ones. In that case the prophet who may be placed here is Jeremiah, and the lower part of his figure is, as I think, in the space marked S<sup>3</sup> in the east window. The inscription under this is on several pieces of glass. The first is inscribed "Sēs," i.e. "Sanctus." The second is said by Gough, Nichols and Winston to bear the name of "Thomas," but they have apparently overlooked the reference which follows written very clearly "3<sup>o</sup> Ca<sup>o</sup>," i.e. "tertio capitulo," the "3" being in the "z" shape used in medieval writing for the Arabic numeral. This is inconsistent with Thomas; and if the name in question is looked at closely, signs of renovation will be seen in the supposed "Th." Bearing in mind that the old Gothic "i" had no dot, and that the form of the black letter "r" has considerably changed in more modern times, we can see how decay would lead to "eremias" being taken for something like "oomas," which would be touched up into "Thomas." Moreover, there is in the third chapter of Jeremiah very suitable matter for a quotation similar to those taken from the other prophets. The word "sanctus" would of course be inappropriate to Jeremiah, but as it is on a separate piece of glass it may very well be taken from some other figure; and we shall find reason later to suppose that St. John the Apostle was part of the original design of the east window and was placed in this very light. The most likely representative of the upper part of Jeremiah is the venerable man holding an inscribed scroll now in the space Q. Unfortunately the writing on the scroll has almost disappeared. There seems to be "es" or "es" forming the end of a word, then a blank followed by what might be taken for a series of "m's" and "n's." Nichols treats it as illegible, but Gough transcribes it as "E lumine." As these words are not to be found anywhere in the Vulgate text<sup>a</sup> they are probably a misreading. I venture to think we have here the traces of "gentes in nomine," which occur in the chapter of Jeremiah to which I have already supposed we have a reference. Verse 17 of chapter iii. begins as follows: "In tempore illo vocabunt Jerusalem solium Domini: et conjugabuntur ad eam omnes gentes in nomine Domini in Jerusalem."

Returning to Window IV. we find in Light 2 the words "in terra pax." These are part of the "Gloria in excelsis" which we shall have to place in another window. The word "ecce," however, is the beginning of the well-known passage from Isaiah vii. 14: "Ecce, virgo concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel." This was undoubtedly the subject of the figure in two pieces now in T<sup>1</sup> and T<sup>2</sup> of the east window. The words "pariet" (misread by Gough "pater") filium et voc . . . are only just legible on the scroll, but it is easy to read the name "Isayas" underneath. This is followed by a reference to the above-

<sup>a</sup> According to Datripon's *Concordance*.



quoted passage as in "septimo capitulo," the Arabic numeral being of the old pattern (Λ), and the abbreviation "ca°" being now nearly all cut away for want of space.

In Light 3 we have the remains of the following from Psalm lxxxvii.<sup>a</sup> 2: "[Gloriosa] dicta sunt de [te civi]tas Dei." This Psalm, "Fundamenta ejus," is the third appointed according to the Roman use in the office of the Virgin for matins at the second nocturn, or in the shorter form of matins (where only one set of psalms is used instead of three) it would be sung on Tuesdays and Fridays. In the Sarum service book, which is far the simpler, containing only one set of psalms in place of three, this particular psalm is not here appointed, but the Roman use would probably be not unfamiliar, at least in the case of services for private use. In the celebrated "Bedford Missal," so called,<sup>b</sup> is the office of the Virgin with all nine psalms and three lessons for matins.

In Light 4, after relegating the fragment "sanctus" to the western windows, we have the word "puleritudo," which is part of the text from the same source as the last. "Confessio et puleritudo in conspectu ejus" occurs in verse 6 of Psalm xvi,<sup>c</sup> which is the first in the set of three appointed for the third nocturn, or, when matins is only said at one hour according to the shorter form, it is to be used on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

In Light 5 we come to the remains of a text from Ezekiel xlv. 2: "Porta [haec] clausa erit. Non aperietur [et vir non transibit per eam, quia dominus deus ingressus est per eam]." The upper part of the prophet's figure with the words "non aperietur" is now in the space P in the east window. In Winston's time it was in T<sup>1</sup>. It appears from Gough that there was at a comparatively early period a duplication of this text. Besides transcribing as "non aperitur" the words on the prophet's scroll in the east window, he quotes the following fragments as being in the window of the chantry which adjoins the north-east corner of the chapel: "Porta *hier* clausa et non *aperiri* . . . . *recl* . . . . *bl* . . . . et *bu* . . . ." The words I have put in italics are doubtless misreadings of "haec" and "aperietur." It is still possible to read "Porta" and "non aperiet . . ." in this little window, and also "Ezechiel xliiij," which was no doubt originally underneath the prophet's figure. The other scraps which Gough has endeavoured to copy were probably the remains of "mel et butyrum comedet," which are part of the passage in the seventh chapter of Isaiah already assigned to Light No. 2.

From Light 6 again we must, according to our supposed scheme, remove the words "Hosanna in excelsis" to the west end and replace them by a passage from the twenty-third verse of Psalm lxxiv.<sup>d</sup>: "Exurge Deus, judica causam tuam"—or, as some readings give it, "cansam meam." The words "Exurge Deus" are part of the patchwork scroll over the figure of Zacharias in space R of the east window, where they are also repeated upside down. In

<sup>a</sup> In the Vulgate numbered lxxxvi.

<sup>b</sup> British Museum additional MSS. 18,850. It was given to the Duke of Bedford on his marriage in 1423.

<sup>c</sup> In the Vulgate numbered xvi.

<sup>d</sup> In the Vulgate numbered lxxiii.

Gonghi's time, as already mentioned, the upright fragment was *in situ*, and one can only suppose it to be a modern substitute or palimpsest. The text quoted occurs in the Sarum Missal ("Domine" being read instead of "Deus") as the versicle after the Gradual on the Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity and the Thursday after the fourth Sunday in Lent. Though not specially connected with the services for the Virgin, it is capable of a Messianic interpretation and would be appropriate to the figure of David himself.

We have, however, no trace of any figures that we can actually identify with the psalm texts. For the removal of the figures of the prophets from the east to the side windows we are backed by the authority of Winston, whose reasons are the same as those which he applies to the remains of the Visitation group. First, he considers that the scale of the figures is out of proportion to those of the four saints which are still *in situ* in the side compartments; and secondly, he identifies the pieces of background attached to the existing figures with what remains in the heads of the large lights of the side windows. It consists of the Warwick badges, the bear and the ragged staff.

The size of the figures alone can scarcely be regarded as a conclusive reason for removing them from the east window, as although they are too large for the small spaces left under the saints in the side compartments, they are not too large for the middle lights. We shall find, however, that there are remains in the east window itself of a set of figures more suitable than either the prophets or the Visitation group for this important position.

#### WINDOW V.

We come now to Window V, but it is important at this point to quote Nichols's account of the inscriptions in the south windows as they were in his time, 1838. He found them all empty except No. VI., and here only five lights were legible. These he reads (1) *manibz den' lapis*, (2) *sns pulcritudo justicie*, (3) *Porta clausa erit*, (4) *Eccc*, (5) *... tas dei . . . sunt de . . .*. It will be seen that all these words still remain amongst the fragments in Window IV. with two exceptions: "*manibus deum lapis*" and "*justicie*." So far therefore the texts which we have used in filling Window IV. are authenticated beyond a doubt, the fragments thus quoted by Nichols, though not *in situ*, being genuine without question.

Of the words which are quoted by him but no longer extant, "*manibus deum lapis*" can scarcely be treated as anything but a misreading. I can find nothing like it in the Bible or the Salisbury Missal. It seems most probably a misreading of the decayed remains of "*Dominus deus Sabaoth*," which have since been recognised and duly restored. They are now where it seems they were in Nichols's time, in the western light of Window VI.

The other fragment, "*justicie*," seems to have disappeared entirely. It may have been destroyed or "restored" into something else. At first sight it seems but a slight clue, but there must have been a context. Large as is the space occupied under "*justitia*" in the Concordance to the Vulgate, there appears to be nothing containing the actual word "*justitiæ*" likely to be quoted here. We have, however, a suggestion in the text from Malachi in Window III., which contains the expression "*Sol justitiæ*." It was probably this



text from which the same expression was borrowed in the offertory appointed by the Sarum Missal for the Vigil of the Assumption and the Feast of the Purification during Advent: "Felix namque es, Sacra Virgo Maria, et omni laude dignissima, quia ex te ortus est Sol justitiæ, Christus, deus noster." It seems to me that as a context for the fragment in question we could scarcely find anything more suitable than this liturgical passage, and we can suppose that the original glass contained either the whole or part of it. If we suppose also, as I think we have reason to, that at the time of the latest restoration use was made of a stock of old fragments which had been preserved in the church without hitherto having been reinserted in the windows, and further that amongst these a clue was found to the words of the Missal, we may well conclude that the text was suppressed as not proper to be resuscitated under a Protestant régime. However this may be, my theory is that the offertory or a quotation from it was used for the heads of either all or some of the six lights of one of the windows on the south side. And on the whole it seems easiest to attribute it to No. V.

Let us come now to Window V. as it stands.

Winston considered that the backgrounds in the heads of the lower lights here were *in situ*. His reason was that they showed the same regular alternation of blue squares and red lozenges which we find on the windows opposite, and which he relies on as part of the original scheme. It is clear therefore that these lights have been altered since his time, for we now find squares and lozenges of various colours arranged as if collected and fitted in almost at haphazard. In the inscription on the scrolls we have a continuous and intact quotation from Psalm cxxxv., which indeed forms, with one possible exception, the only perfect text to be found in any of the windows. This alone would suggest that the scrolls are a part of a modern restoration; and as no part of this text is mentioned by Winston or any of his predecessors in describing the windows, there can be no doubt these scrolls have been inserted since his time. Indeed the text may have been chosen simply in accordance with his suggestion that the subject of the six lights as a whole was a "heavenly host," and that it was to this that the yellow bands or rays which he noticed in the heads had reference. The only point I can see in favour of the authenticity of the text is that the words "nomen Dei" are duplicated on a fragment which is now in Window IV., light 1, and which we are not able to fit in textually with any fragments remaining elsewhere. On the other hand what seems to me almost conclusively to stamp the quotation as recent is that it is neither in the Missal nor the Primer, and that it has no Messianic significance nor any connexion with the Saint in whose honour the chapel is dedicated.

#### WINDOW VI.

We come now to Window VI., and in dealing with the lower lights of this we may deal also with the corresponding portion of its opposite neighbour. As already pointed out, the latter contains no traces of original inscriptions, the scrolls at present in the glass being mere copies, word for word, of those in Window II.

Our materials, therefore, for the restoration of the twelve lights of these two windows are the fragments now in No. VI. and the following words, which we have eliminated from No. IV.; "Laudamus . . . de . . . in terra pax . . . Sanctus . . . Hosanna in excelsis." Putting

all these together we find they point clearly to the following two separate portions of the Mass, the words which we must suppose to have been lost being placed in square brackets:

(1) Gloria in excelsis Deo [et] in terra pax [hominibus bonæ voluntatis]. Laudamus te. [Benedicimus te. Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam] Domine deus.

(2) Sanctus, Sanctus, [Sanctus], Dominus deus Sabaoth, [pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua] Hosanna in excelsis! [Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.] Hosanna in excelsis!

The only points in which the materials do not appear to harmonize completely with the supposed text are, first, that we must read the fragments "Laudamus" and "de" in IV. 1, and "Deo" in VI. 5, as having been duplicated in the course of the restoration, and, secondly, that the word "Dominus" in VI. 4 must be treated as an incorrect restoration of "Domine." These overlappings and discrepancies seem to me fairly indicative of the methods of the modern restorer. As far as they would go in harmony with the modern ritual he has used a stock of genuine fragments, and in the remaining gaps of two windows (I. and VI.) he has inserted copies, reserving one window (V.) for an entirely fresh inscription. It should be noted that in one, or probably two, of the fragments quoted by Nichols, "sanctus" and "Dominus deus Sabaoth," we have authority for the Tersanctus, but for the "Gloria in excelsis" we have only the fragments which have been inserted in the window since his time, and which may or may not after all be parts of the original design.

However, taking the "Gloria" and the "Tersanctus," two passages containing respectively twenty-six and twenty-five words, there would be no difficulty in apportioning one of them between the six lights of Window VI. and the other between the five lights of Window I.

But here we must observe a considerable difference between the glazing of the windows on the two sides of the chapel. The openings on the south are entirely filled with glass, while the lower lights, if we may so call them, on the north, owing to the adjoining buildings are filled throughout, to nearly half their height from the sills, with masonry; and the most western light of Window I., adjoining the turret staircase, contains, as does the angle above it, no glass at all. That this was originally so is shown by the quantities of glass quoted by Dugdale from the executor's accounts, or more clearly by the details in Archer's MS. copied by Hamper into his interleaved Dugdale already referred to. From the latter it appears that each of the large lights on the south side contained 21 feet of glass, while each of those on the north contained only 12½, and further that while each of the two windows of six lights on the north contained in all 107 feet, the window of five lights contained only 91.\*

There would therefore be space on the north side for one tier of figures only, but on the south for two tiers, if indeed the south windows contained figures arranged in tiers at all. It seems possible to suppose that these windows, representing a multitude of the heavenly

\* Thus making the total of 305 feet correctly given by Dugdale for the three north windows. The total in the MS. for the three south windows is: iiij<sup>l</sup>xl feet xj inches, which would be 153 feet 48 inches for each. In all three editions of Dugdale, this total feet is misprinted cccclx (560) for cccclx (460).



host, were of an entirely different design from those opposite, and that the figures we have identified were confined to the north side. Thus the seventeen lower lights on that side would be occupied by nine minor and three major prophets, Zachariah, the Virgin, St. Elizabeth, David, and one other, of whom the traces are now lost.

#### THE EAST WINDOW.

We now turn to the east window in order to consider what were the original contents of the seven large lights.

The only portions which, following Winston, we can unhesitatingly accept as *in situ* are the four figures, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Alban, St. John of Bridlington, and St. Winifred, which are in the spaces marked D, E, F, G in his diagram (see above). Of these St. Alban and St. Winifred can be identified by the remains of the inscriptions on the brackets beneath them, and the others correspond in all respects with the persons named. St. John of Bridlington it may be mentioned was a prior of the monastery there who died in 1379. What was Beauchamp's special reason for distinguishing these four English saints does not appear, but that he did desire to distinguish them is made clear by his will as set out by Dugdale. This contains directions that four effigies of himself in gold should be made and one placed in each of the four saints' shrines.

Dealing with the rest of the window, we may first note that we have already identified as belonging to the side windows the pieces marked in the diagram P, Q, R, S<sup>1</sup>, S<sup>2</sup>, T<sup>1</sup>, T<sup>2</sup>, U<sup>1</sup>, and U<sup>2</sup>. Winston points out, as already mentioned, that the figures indicated by these pieces would be too large for the east window spaces, and that the backgrounds belonging to them are evidently part of the scheme indicated by the glass still remaining in the heads of the lower lights of the side windows. The same reasoning applies to O<sup>1</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>, and beyond this we can say nothing as to their identity. M<sup>2</sup> and M<sup>3</sup> as well as the fragments in L<sup>2</sup> are equally featureless and must be likewise passed over.

As clues to the original contents of the seven lights we have now nothing left in the window but the background fragments in H, I and K, and the pieces marked M<sup>1</sup> (the head of Christ), L<sup>1</sup> (a part of the figure of Richard Beauchamp), N (the head and upper part of the figure of the Virgin Mary) and probably the fragment inscribed "S<sup>c</sup>us" at the bottom of S<sup>2</sup>. In addition to these, however, there is an important fact stated by Dugdale, namely, that this window contained pictures of Beauchamp, his wives and their five children. His words are: "The pictures of his wives and children together with his own as they stand in the east window I have upon the foregoing page exquisitely represented."

On these words it must be remarked that they must be read as referring to the year 1641, when the author made his tour of inspection, and not to 1656 when his work was published.<sup>a</sup> Moreover, it is certain, as pointed out by Winston, that the engraving, "exquisite" (that is "detailed") though it is in reproducing the heraldry and genealogy of the individual figures,

<sup>a</sup> See Dugdale's *Life, Diary, and Correspondence*, edited by William Hamper, 1827. Of the state of the building in 1656 he says, "the beauty of this goodly chapel and monument [the founder's tomb] through the iniquity of later times is much impaired." (*Antiq. Warwicksh.*)

makes no pretence to showing their relative positions as grouped in the window. The plate has certainly some appearance of uniformity in the arrangement of the figures, but that is only given to it by adding at the bottom right hand corner a dedicatory escutcheon which has nothing to do with the design of the glass. Apart from this addition we have three lines or tiers of three, three and two figures respectively, all turned sideways, kneeling, and of uniform size and design. In the first line is Beauchamp himself, with his first wife on our right and his second on our left. Then come consecutively his daughter and son by his second wife and his three daughters by his first wife. Each of the wives naturally faces towards her husband, while he, perhaps not less naturally, faces his second, who survived him. We next notice that both the children of Isabel Despencer, the second wife, face to the right as she does, while the three daughters of Elizabeth Berkeley, the first wife, follow her in facing to the left. This at once suggests for the whole group an arrangement along a line of which the father and the two mothers would form the middle, as we have them in fact in the first line of the engraving, and each wife would have her own children kneeling behind her.

The family effigies would thus occupy the bottom tier of the whole of the east window. Beauchamp himself would be in the space marked L in the diagram, his first wife in N, and her three daughters in Q and R. In M would be the second wife Isabella, and in O and P her son Henry and her daughter Isabel. This arrangement is quite in keeping with our ancestors' established mode of grouping families on funeral monuments; and the only apparent difficulty in carrying it out here exactly according to the materials before us would be the uniform fitting of the children of the first marriage, who are three in number, into the bottom of the right hand compartment, which is equally divided into only two lights. But that this could be got over by some slight sacrifice of symmetry is obvious, and Winston has no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the lower tier of the whole window was in fact thus filled.\*

Of these seven figures, however, the only remaining fragment which we can recognize is the upper part of Beauchamp's figure; and this, with the head of his first wife or one of her daughters, is now in the middle light of the lower tier, precisely where it should be according to the theory we have adopted.

A difficulty which occurs to Winston at this point should perhaps be mentioned. He noticed that this part of Beauchamp's figure showed an inescutcheon of pretence worn over his own arms of Beauchamp, and bearing the arms of his second wife as heiress of Despencer, whereas no inescutcheon is shown in Dugdale's engraving. With some hesitation he concludes that the discrepancy is due to an error of the engraver, who has not only omitted the inescutcheon from the figure of Beauchamp, where it would be correctly placed, but has also inserted it over the arms borne by the Lady Eleanor, his second daughter by his first wife, where it is clearly wrong, for the first wife and her family had nothing to do with the family or arms of Despencer. Since Winston's time the Earl's inescutcheon has disappeared from the window, the alteration being due no doubt to a well-meaning "restorer," who assumed that

\* A quite different scheme of the whole of the seven lights is suggested by Nichols, but it seems to me quite untenable if due weight is given to Winston's arguments.



on a question of heraldry the authority of an engraving in Dugdale must be superior to that of a glassmaker. The error in the engraving is certainly one which Dugdale himself, one of the most conscientious and accurate of heralds, cannot be imagined to have committed, and one can scarcely suppose that he would knowingly pass it over without comment; but it appears such a small detail on the face of the plate that it would require a very strict inspection to detect it. The engraver of this and similar plates no doubt was relied on as an heraldic draughtsman, and made a slip in working out the materials supplied him by the author. These materials, to judge from the result, consisted of little more than tricks and directions in heraldic shorthand of the names, genealogy, and arms borne by the several personages represented. The arranging and spacing would be left to the engraver. That his reproductions were by no means invariably exact appears from the corrections made by Hamper in other places in his interleaved copy, where he has compared the plates with Dugdale's own drawings.

It now remains only to deal with the three spaces, S, T, and U, occupying the chief position in the whole of the window. The only materials containing recognizable features which we have now left undisposed of are the head of Christ, now in M<sup>2</sup>, the upper part of the figure of the Virgin, which Gough calls a "*Mater dolorosa*," now in N, and last, if not least in significance, the fragment of an inscription "*S'C'US*" at the bottom of S.

In the two larger pieces Winston clearly recognizes fragments of a representation of the Passion; but he has considerable doubt as to where it was originally placed, and is inclined to think it was in one of the side windows. I venture to think that, had he considered the reasons supplied by our examination of the scrolls for filling the side windows with a scheme in which the Passion does not find a place, he would have been very strongly inclined to assign this subject to the upper part of the chief compartment of the east window. The head of Christ crowned with thorns would of course be in the centre light, the Virgin facing to the left would be on the right side, and on the other probably St. John, with his name following the abbreviation of the word "*sanctus*" which is still *in situ*.

Winston's main objection to supposing the figures of Christ and the Virgin were in the east window seems to be the size of the fragments, which indicate a larger scale than those of the four saints actually in the side compartments. But it is equally evident that larger figures are suitable for the middle group, not only on account of the greater height of the spaces, but also because the larger scale would be in keeping with the greater importance of the subject, and it would also help to knit the three figures into a whole by bringing them closer together. We have also to consider the pieces of background in H, I, and K, which Winston is satisfied are *in situ*, harmonizing as they do in a series of alternate colours with the heads of the side compartments. Now it is pointed out by Winston that the centre from which the yellow lines in the middle light appear to radiate, as indicated by their divergence, was higher in the window than the corresponding centre in the side lights. This is quite in keeping with our supposition that the figure of Christ was in the middle, and the figures of the *Mater Dolorosa* and St. John, probably kneeling, were on each side. The remains of the female figure are in fact in this attitude.

There appears to me, indeed, only one detail which does not on the face of it harmonize with the restoration proposed. In the space I are the remains of a nimbus from which proceed the yellow rays, and this according to Winston differs from the nimbus surrounding the head of Christ in M<sup>1</sup> in not being cruciferous. But it is by no means necessary for the cross on the nimbus to extend to the extreme edge. The portion left in the top of the light may be the remains of a plain outer border, the rest of which has disappeared from the head in M<sup>1</sup>, or the lines indicating the cross may have decayed. Winston's opinion that the background of the head of Christ is not *in situ* leaves it at least an open question whether or not part of the nimbus which surrounded it has also been partly cut down.

The subject of the Passion is not without its appropriateness, placed as it would be here in prominence, mantled over by the fourteen scrolls bearing the words and music of the "Gloria in excelsis," the joyful heavenly melody which announced the Saviour's nativity to mankind. Winston himself remarks that the glass in the upper part of the window was evidently designed with reference to some important subject in the lower lights, and it seems rather strange that the appropriateness of the Passion did not occur to him.

It so happens that we can quote an actual example of this subject being employed as part of a window designed in very much the same way as we are supposing here. This example is, or rather was, in the chapel at Compton Winyates, the Warwickshire seat of the Compton family, built by Sir William, the founder of their greatness, in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. "In the chapel in this house," says Dugdale,<sup>a</sup> "was a costly window of rare workmanship, the passion of our Saviour being there very lively represented, and in the lower part thereof his own [Sir William Compton's] portraiture as also that of his lady both kneeling in their surcoats of arms." Indeed it may well be conjectured that the design of the window at Compton was taken from that at Warwick. Whether or not the two were connected in their origin, in the fate which has overtaken them they were not far apart. Compton, however, was by far the greater sufferer. In 1646, after a successful siege, the house was occupied by troops of the Parliament, and the "costly window" was utterly destroyed. The Beauchamp Chapel has had the good fortune to survive not only an onslaught of the parliamentary iconoclasts but the conflagration which destroyed the body of the church of which it is a part. It has sustained severe but not mortal wounds, and, thanks probably to Dugdale himself<sup>b</sup> and to the restraint with which the remedy of restoration has been applied, it retains unique features of beauty and interest which may now be recognized as deserving the utmost longevity of which the work of the medieval artist is capable.

<sup>a</sup> *Antiquities of Warwickshire.*

<sup>b</sup> As trustee of Lady Leveson's bequest for reparation and maintenance of the chapel.



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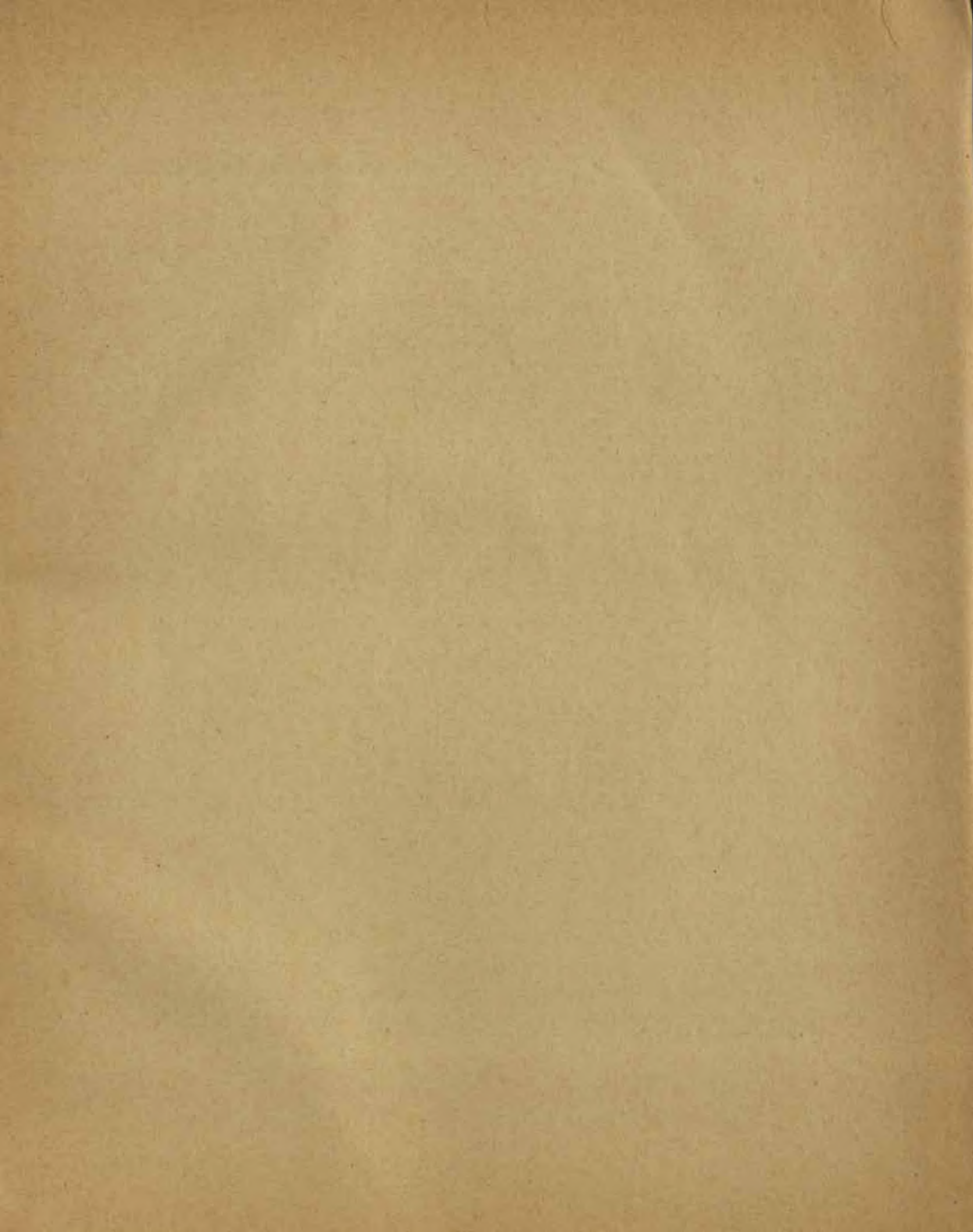


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